

*See the Remarks on this publication
in Whistak. Mary Queen of Scots 2. ed. v. 3. p. 119.
see also M. King 3.*

MEMOIRS

Francis Sturgrave.

OF THE

Galley

A F F A I R S

OF

S C O T L A N D.

CONTAINING,

A full and impartial Account of the REVOLU-
TION in that Kingdom in the Year MDLXVII.

By DAVID CRAWFURD of DRUM-
SOY, late Historiographer for the Kingdom
of SCOTLAND.

The THIRD EDITION.

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MDCCLXVII.

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First of first 2. ed. vol. 1. p. 15. in note 15. of first. on the



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T O

The RIGHT HONOURABLE

David Earl of *Glasgow*, Viscount of *Kelburn*, Lord *Boyle* of *Stewarton*, *Cambray*, *Fenwick*, *Largs*, *Dalray*; One of the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; one of the Lords Commissioners of Treasury and Exchequer, and Lord Treasurer Deputy of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

MY LORD,

IT is very justly observed by the Prefacer to the Earl of *Clarendon's* History, ' That it is a most difficult Province to ' write the History of a civil War, where ' the Sovereign is engaged with one Part ' of the Subjects against the other, where ' both Sides are sufficiently inflamed, and ' the Necessity of speaking the Truth of ' several great Men that were engaged in ' the Quarrel on either Side, who may ' have still very considerable Relations descended from them, now alive, makes
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‘ the Task invidious, as well as difficult.”
I am sensible the Case is almost my own,
for every Man will not make a Difference
betwixt an Author and his Publisher, or
Translator. But I think I may further
observe, in the Words of the same Prefa-
cer, ‘ That these Memoirs will be so far
‘ from giving Offence to any ingenuous
‘ Man, that they will be received rather
‘ as an Instruction to the present Age, than
‘ a Reproach upon the last.

‘ The Tenderness that might seem due,
‘ out of Charity, good Manners, and good
‘ Nature, to our Countrymen, our Neigh-
‘ bours; or Relations, has been indulged
‘ a long Space of Time, and might possi-
‘ bly be abused, if it should not give way
‘ at last to the Usefulness of making these
‘ Sheets publick, in an Age when so ma-
‘ ny Memoirs, Narratives, Accounts and
‘ pretended Histories, came out, as it were
‘ on Purpose to justify Rebellion, and to
‘ blacken, revile, and ridicule the sacred
‘ Majesty of an anointed Head in Di-
‘ stress.’

We have now hourly read in our Schools
Mr. *Buchanan’s* partial History of *Scotland*,
a Work calculated for the rebellious Times
in which he lived, and for which it stands
yet condemned by an Act of Parliament,
in

The Dedication.

v

in the Reign of King *James* the Sixth. But the *Roman* Language requires some Study ; and that the Lazy and the Ignorant may have a Share of this mighty Benefit, we have got him turned into *English* too, a Translation done in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, but was by that wise Prince utterly discharged and suppressed. His Dialogue *de jure regni apud Scotos* is now openly sold in *English*, and it is almost become a Study to reckon how many Editions we have had of this Author's *Detectio Mariæ*, tho' it was fully answered in several Languages ten Years before his Death, and never defended by himself or his Friends. We had last Winter too a Book published at *London*, (I have mentioned it in my Preface) called, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland, from the Death of King James the Fifth, to the untimely End of the Earl of Murray*. The Copier or Translator there (and indeed he is but a bad one, and had Reason to conceal his Name) endeavours to outstrip the Original (*Buchanan*) and by way of Appendix, presents us with some Scrapes of his Author's pretended Detection.

My Lord, it cannot be without a Design that so many defamatory Libels against a crowned Head are daily published, and

that so many pretended Histories are printed, where the Sovereign is always brought in worsted by the Subject, the People never in the Wrong, and the Crown never in the Right. I hope then an impartial and plain Account of the Transactions of those Times, will be so far from being thought unseasonable, since it may not only serve to put a Stop to, and lessen the growing Credit and Reputation of these pretended Historians, that it will rather contribute to awaken us to that Honesty and Loyalty which formerly *Scotsmen* have been so valued for, abroad and at Home, and teach us to avoid the Miseries under which those fatal Mistakes brought our Ancestors, when for thirteen or fourteen Years together, they lay hourly exposed to the Insults of their happier Neighbours.

Besides, my Lord, it would, in my humble Opinion, be almost an unpardonable Omission not to set this Affair in its true Light, that the Reputation of the Innocent may not always suffer by the restless Malice of those, who not daring openly to attack the Crown, loudly decry those who defended it : A Set of Men who justify old Rebellions, to excuse, or make way for new ones, and who when they unjustly endeavour to sink the Credit and
good

good Name of those who were truly Patriots, with unparallel'd Assurance exalt to the Skies, as such, People who, blinded by Ambition, Revenge and Pensions, could not be kept within any Bounds, but involved the Nation in Blood, destroyed Thousands of their Fellow-subjects, and brought at last their own Sovereign to lose her Head in a foreign Soil, by the Hand of a common Executioner.

The Authors of this Civil War can never be justified or defended, but by those who are at Bottom Enemies to Peace, their Country, and our Constitution; and when they are praised as Patriots, it is in plain *Scots*, not to lessen Rebellion, or extenuate the Guilt, but to make it lawful, commendable and necessary. For tho' I should grant, to please Queen *Mary's* Enemies, what indeed appears not to me a Matter of Fact, that after her unhappy Marriage with *Bothwell*, of which, by the way, themselves were the Authors, the young Prince her Son was in Danger from his Step-Father: Will this excuse any Man that acted against her, after *Bothwell's* Flight, and her voluntary Surrender at *Carberry Hill*? Will it justify her violent Imprisonment, or acquit those who barbarously forced her to resign her Crown, and afterwards more

barbarously pursued her into *England*; where she lost her Life, and where they charged her with unheard of Crimes, of which themselves alone were guilty, and for which some of them afterwards suffered publicly? Or what can be urged in Behalf of those Men, who pretended only to divide her from the Interest of the Regicide, and yet when she begged a Divorce from him, gave her no other Answer but that 'she might save them and herself that Labour, by writing to the King of *Denmark*, whose Prisoner he then was, to do Justice upon him for the Murder he had committed?' Here indeed, beneath the Cloak of Saintship, the cloven Foot appeared; and tho' they charged her with the untimely Death of her second Husband, yet they would have had her the main Instrument to dispatch the third.

Nor is it more to the Purpose, what some well meaning Men believe, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the Business of those Times, that it was a religious War, and that the Lords, as Mr. *Buchanan* calls them, were fighting in Defence of the Protestant Religion. There was in this Case no Manner of Provocation given by the Court; for Popery was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1560. The *French* were

were then driven out of *Scotland*; the Queen, after her Return from *France*, had confirmed all those Acts made in her Absence, for the Security and Establishment of the Reformed Religion, neither did she ever, during her Reign, act any thing to the Prejudice thereof. And, which was indeed a noble Fence for the Protestant Religion and Interest, the *Scots* subscribed to the same Rites and Ceremonies in Religion used by the *English*. *Religionis cultui et ritibus* (says *Buchanan*) *cum Anglicis communibus subscripserunt*. In a Word then, when the Matter is narrowly examined, we will find that all this Mischief was owing to foreign Influence, as will partly appear from these Memoirs; and that the Ringleaders in this Rebellion, whom the Ignorant adore as Reformers, were no more than Pensioners to a foreign Crown, and Men who prostituted the Honour of their native Country for a yearly Fee. I pray God the *Scots* may never again be hired to undo themselves.

The Incendiaries or Promoters of a Civil War in any Country, but more especially in *Scotland*, deserve the Abhorrence of every good Man. When Cowards go by the Ears, they learn at least to fight by the Bargain, and by practising upon one another

other at Home, are taught how to defend themselves when attacked from abroad; generally too they are easily reconciled; but we, who have always had Fighting for our Trade, and have been almost 2000 Years accustomed to Arms, run into Extremes, and our martial Temper being once rouzed and heated, we dream not of an Accommodation, nor think we can sheath our Swords with Honour, till we have seen the Destruction of our Enemy, tho' a Fellow Subject.

Rebellion is every where a Crime, but doubly so amongst the *Scots*; for a People who have acquired an eternal Reputation abroad, by their Loyalty and Fidelity, ought to be very shy of losing it at Home. We who have ever been faithful to foreign Princes, ought to be singularly so to our own; and since our Blood has often bought Peace and Honour to our Neighbours, it should be our Study to employ it for, and not against ourselves. All the World knows what Marks of Esteem the Monarchs of *France* have, for a long Tract of Years, conferred upon the *Scots*. Nor was their Honour less trusted to by *Gustavus Adolphus*, in 1623, at *Munick*, where two *Scots* Regiments alone guarded the Person of that great Prince, and that of
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the King of *Bohemia*, tho' he had both *Swedes* and *Dutch* at the same Time in his Service. Indeed the admirable Performances of the *Scots* sufficiently intitled them to this Compliment : for this warlike Monarch had in his victorious Army about this Time, no less than three Generals, one Felt-Marshal, one Lieutenant-General, two General-Majors, twenty-three Colonels, two of which came afterwards to be Major-Generals, fifty-five Lieutenant Colonels, (of which fifteen died afterwards Colonels in *France*, *Germany*, &c. and one an Ambassador for the King of *Great Britain*) and fourteen Majors, besides seven Regiments which lay in *Sweden*, *Leeoland*, &c. all *Scotsmen*, and such as had never turned their Backs upon an Enemy. With these he had taken *Mentz*, *Donawert*, *Ausburg*, *Engolstadt*, *Hochstat*, &c. With these he knew no Difference of Seasons, when he marched in Pursuit of his Foes ; with these he curbed the Ambition of the House of *Austria*, and daunted the *Pole* and *Dane* ; and with these, in a Word, he shewed the World, and the Emperor of *Germany*, that before the Year 1703, the *Scots* could, and did, purchase never fading Laurels, upon the Banks of the *Rhine* and *Danube*. It was here that
the

the *Scottish* Arms were so formidable, and that they were so far from giving the Right-hand to a People of Yesterday, that the *Dutch* were glad to beat our March when they designed heartily to alarm the Enemy; and Colonel Sir *John Hamilton* abandoned the Army, tho' earnestly pressed to stay by the King of *Sweden*, only because the *Swedes* and *Dutch* were ordered to storm the Enemies Works before him at *Wirtzburg*, after himself and his Men had boldly hewn out a Way for them thither. Nor have we been more successful against the Emperor of *Germany* than for him. When *Walestein* had bargained with the *French* to join Armies, and march directly against his own Master, the Emperor having discovered the dark Conspiracy, in this dangerous and memorable Juncture, alone relied upon the Fidelity of the *Scots*. He writes therefore to the Colonels *Lefly*, *Gordon*, &c. who boldly seized this perfidious General, and as boldly struck off his Head in the View of his Army.

My Lord, in my Preface having given the best Accounts I could of these Memoirs, I have only this to add, that the Writer seems faithfully to have remembered *Cicero's* Character of a good Historian, *Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri*

non

non audeat. As to the last Part of the Character, People will be very easily determined; and for the first, there is not one material Passage in all his Sheets, which I cannot justify from authentick Papers, Histories and Records. And I hope you will do me the Honour, my Lord, to believe, I would neither present your Lordship, nor my Country, with any thing for which I could not produce undeniable Vouchers.

As of late we have had some of Mr. *Buchanan's* Works very frequently published both in *Latin* and *English*, so we have got too a more than common Opinion of his Honesty, and the Number of his Admirers is considerably increased, the Stigma's put upon him by the former Governments being wholly buried in Oblivion. I am therefore to expect heavy Censures, not only for publishing what so manifestly and flatly contradicts him, but for having taken him gently to Task in my Preface. But, my Lord, I have said nothing there that can be justly quarrelled, or, I am persuaded, that can offend the Judicious and Impartial. Those who think I am too free with his Character, have read no other Author but himself upon the same Subject, (the Civil War in Queen *Mary's* Reign) and

and must be perfect Strangers to *Lesly*, *Spotiswood*, *Cambden*, *Melvil*, &c. but above all, to Sir *James Turner*, and *Camerarius*. The last of these, in the four Books *de Scotorum fortitudine, doctrina, & pietate*, &c. printed in 1630, and dedicated to King *Charles I.* goes indeed a little out of his Road, and rakes into the Business of his Life, positively asserting, * that in the Reign of King *James V.* he was forced to run *Scotland* for eating the Passover. The other mends the Matter a little, and but a very little, his Title-page running thus: *Annotations or Animadversions upon Buchanan's History, and his Dialogue de jure regni; in which the Author's Inconsistencies, false Citations, inexcusable Ignorance in the Histories of our Neighbour Nations, Blasphemies, his Lessons and Dictates of Rebellion, his Misregard of Holy Scripture, and downright Lies, &c. are demonstrated.* This Treatment is too harsh for Mr. *Buchanan*, and yet, when

* Qua etiam tempestate Vimburgi *Georgius Buchananus*, cum aliis quibusdam, agnum paschalem more & ritu Judaico, tempore quadragesimæ comedere deprehensus est; cognitaque a Rege ipso causa, quidam ex illis combusti sunt, ipso interim *Buchanano* in *Belgium*, indeque in *Gallias* fugiente. Lib. 4. c. 2. p. 269.

when compared with his own to Queen Mary, and that again with his *Nympha Caledonia*, and his *Unde repentino*, it makes the Case pretty doubtful. But however it stands, I must say, that those who would have his History credited, would do well to remove effectually that Character given of him by *Straloch*, and which I have mentioned at large in my Preface, that his *De jure regni* was his *Thesis proposita*, &c. This will be no easy Task ; for the Charge will appear too justly grounded to those who have carefully perused both his History and Dialogue, it appearing beyond all Manner of Controversy that the one was written to support and strengthen the other, and both with the abominable Design of pulling Queen Mary out of the Throne, to make room for his Pupil and Patron the Earl of Murray.

What can be more plain ? Or what else could be his Design, when in his Dialogue he tells the World, that ‘ there are some
‘ Tyrannies approved of by the free Suffrages of the People ; these for the Moderation of their Government, are honoured with the Title of Kings ; no Man
‘ with his Consent shall do any Hurt to these, nay nor to him who has attained
‘ to the Sovereignty by Force or Fraud,
b
‘ pro-

‘ provided he is moderate in his Govern-
‘ ment.’ Now, how Mr. *Buchanan*, who
was a professed Enemy to all Tyrants,
comes to plead the Cause of Usurpers,
Tyrants *sine titulo*, who obtain the So-
vereignty by Force or Fraud, I believe
will not be easily answered by the fondest
of his Admirers. This at least, I am con-
vinced, has been written to serve a Turn,
and appears most probably to have been
done in the Nick of Time when Queen
Mary was a Prisoner in *Lochleven*. The
Conjecture seems not ill founded, upon his
own Epistle to King *James VI. anno 1579*,
where he informs him, that this Dialogue
was written several Years before, *cum apud*
nos (says he) *res turbulentissimæ essent*, and
in all his Time the Nation was never in so
much Confusion as then. But to come
closer to the Point, the whole Drift and
Scope of the Dialogue is to prove, that
the Queen, notwithstanding of her Sove-
reignty, might lawfully be brought to the
Bar to plead her own Cause; and I think
this could not be safely urged before her
Confinement. Let me suppose then the
Queen had been murdered, (for a formal
Trial would not have mended the Matter)
then it followed by Mr. *Buchanan*’s own
Law of *Electing the most qualified of King*
Fer-

Fergus's *Race*, the Infant King must have been excluded and laid aside, and *Murray* must have mounted the Throne; for thro' the whole Course of his History he never makes Bastardy a Bar to Succession: Nay, he is so far from it, that he constantly calls *Murray* the Queen's Brother; and speaking of King *James Vth's* Brother, who was likewise a Bastard, and dignified with the Title of Earl of *Murray*, he calls him *PRINCE James*, a Compliment he never bestows upon any of the second Sons of our Kings, from the Beginning to the End of his History. But, which is yet a bolder Stroke in Behalf of his Patron, he illegitimizes Children lawfully begotten, as in the Case of *Robert II.* and *Elizabeth Mure*, on Purpose to make a remote Precedent for *Murray's* Succession.

I could give many such Instances of Mr. *Buchanan's* Sincerity and Honesty, both from his History and Dialogue, such as seem not only levelled against our Constitution, but against all Order and Government, as if he had designed to turn the whole World loose to serve his Friend. To such Masters we owe our Contempt of Religion, and of the *higher Powers*, Sins that dwell always beneath one Roof: And I confess it is something new and surprising,

to find him read in all our Schools, on Purpose to debauch our Youth, of whom *Turner* very justly observed, that ‘ he was
‘ the first Man who reduced Rebellion to
‘ an Art, and publickly taught Lessons of
‘ it.’ His Gloss upon *St. Paul’s* Epistle to the *Romans*, and upon his Epistle to *Timothy*, (to obey and pray for Kings, &c.) and the Prophet *Jeremiah’s* Command to the *Jews*, to obey the King of *Assyria*, are all very admirable. But I have already crept beyond the common Bounds of an Epistle Dedicatory, and it is now my Business, as well as Duty, to beg your Lordship’s Pardon for the Freedom of this Address.

My Lord, I have no other Apology to make in my own Behalf, but that I thought myself bound to embrace this Opportunity of publickly acknowledging (and of laying it as a Debt upon my Posterity, if God shall bless me with any) that I owe the little All I have to your Lordship’s Friendship, who alone shewed a kind Concern for my Fortunes, and first ushered me into the World, and the Stage of Business, when the Misfortunes of my small Family had left me very few Friends.

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Besides this just Acknowledgment, I have another very considerable Advantage, at least I ever thought it one, I ly under no Necessity of flattering my Patron. That Dedications are so often pestered with this nauseous Disease, is owing either to the Author's mistaken Choice of the Person whose Protection he begs, or to his own servile Humour. A truly great Man cannot be flattered; for if he is praised, it is but the just Reward of his Merit, and a Debt not due to him by one particular Person, but by all the World. Your Lordship's Character then sets me free from the Trouble of the first, and if I were mean enough to be guilty of the latter, I deserved not the Honour of having your Lordship my Friend.

I have only this to add, my Lord, that these Memoirs, which boldly unmask Rebellion, naturally enough claim your Lordship's Protection. Loyalty very often runs in a Blood, and becomes hereditary with our Estates; for tho' your Family has stood some Hundreds of Years, your Character Chest has never yet been crowded with one Remission. On the contrary, your Ancestors have often suffered very great Hardships for their firm Adherence to the Crown, and your Great Grand-father, who

was named by King *Charles I.* to the same Post of Treasurer-deputy which your Lordship now enjoys, suffered no less than ten Years Banishment, to the Ruin almost of his Estate, for his Loyalty to that unfortunate Prince. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Drumsoy,
Sept. 14.
1705.

and most humble Servant,

DAV. CRAWFURD.

THE AUTHOR'S

P R E F A C E.

WHAT happened in Scotland from the Year 1565, till 1583, has been already delivered by Wholesale, or in Retail, from so many Authors, that a Man may reasonably presume, nothing new can be now published upon that Subject, especially if it is remembered that they were Men of very different Characters, and quite opposite Principles, who therefore sifted every Particular, and disputed the most minute Circumstances, with more Heat and Eagerness than we commonly allow to good Writers. The Misfortunes of *Mary Queen of Scots*, and that extraordinary Treatment she met with at Home and Abroad, making a great Part of the History of that Time, we ought not to be surprised if we read the Transactions of those Years in most of the *European* Languages, and find they have employed the greatest Pens of that and the succeeding Age. However, it is certain that most of these either shewed a Concern for that Queen, or for her Enemies; the Reformation, which then happened, having drawn them into Parties; and it is as certain, that any Man who seemed at that Time to favour her, was ill look-

Conrad Ford
himself is
meant, not
the writer of
the Memoirs
on this he
makes so
much use
of. See
p. 129
Dedication
Ch. II.

looked upon, whilst those who defamed her were good zealous Folks, Promoters of Religion, and Enemies to the Church of *Rome*, for Want of Charity was as much the Disease of that Age as of this. Hence it is we find the last of these too partial, and the first under a Necessity of concealing what they knew, or at least of dimitting Truths in such a Manner as might leave Room for a Retreat, had they been questioned by the prevailing Party. That is, in plain *English*, Matters of Fact were delivered like antient Oracles, with two Faces, and to be expounded more Ways than one. Persons and Papers that exposed Things to open View, being thus carefully suppressed and discouraged, to serve the present Turn, and to conceal from Posterity Deeds that blackened the Reputation of the Authors, and might have left indelible Stains upon their Families, it is no more a Wonder if even those who durst write the Truth, but were thus kept in the Dark, and straitened for Want of authentick Instructions, have delivered Things lamely, and with some Confusion. *Cambden* was very sensible of this Misfortune, when beginning to mention the Affairs of the *Scots* Queen, he says, ^a 'Give me Leave briefly to lay
' open the whole Matter, without all biasing
' of Love or Hatred, as far as I can be inform-
' ed, as well out of other Mens Writings,
' which came forth at that Time, but in Favour
' of *Murray*, and Hatred to the Queen, were
' suppressed in *England*, as also out of the Let-
ters

^a *Camb. Hist. of Q. Elizabeth*, in *English*, Folio, the 4th Edition, p. 88, 89. B. 1.

ters of Ambassadors, and most credible Persons, &c.' If Truth was so industriously smothered amongst the *English*, I leave the Reader to judge, if it is probable that *Murray's* Interest prevailed less amongst the *Scots*.

Notwithstanding those Inconveniencies I have mentioned, it is evident from a late Writer, that there are many Manuscripts, besides a considerable Number of anonymous Authors, to be seen upon the same Subject, I mean *Queen Mary's* Misfortunes^b, and those Revolutions in *Scotland* which followed upon her Banishment. However, I shall pass by these, and others whose Names are known, but whose Honesty may be suspected as bigotted, such as *Turner*, *Sander-son*, *Stranguage*, *Udal*, and *Cauffman*. These Men are indeed something inclined to Partiality, some of them giving us rather a Panegyrick on *Queen Mary*, than an Account of her Troubles. Our great *Buchanan*, who has acquired so much Reputation at Home and Abroad, is affected with the same Disease, and not at all in this Affair to be relied upon, only with this Difference from the rest, that he is far from bestowing any Compliments upon the unfortunate Queen, tho' a little Time before, in his Dedication of his Paraphrase of the Psalms, he extolled the vast Perfections, moral as well as natural, of the same Queen, in the loftiest Strains, but now can be very liberal of his Praises to her Enemies. Having thus added this mighty Author to my List of partial Writers, I shall bring *Cambden*, *Spotiswood*, and *Sir James Mel-*

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^b Nic. Scot. Hist. Library, Page 166.

vil of *Hall-bill*, Men of Reputation and Credit, into Court, to justify my Conduct, and by this Jury of *Scots* and *English*, deprive him of the Title of Historian, in as far as concerns this unhappy Princess, and the Proceedings of her Adversary the Earl of *Murray*.

I am not ignorant that to differ from him, especially when he delivers the Transactions of his own Time, is to be, with some Men, reputed no less than a Schismatick, or a Broacher of some new Heresy, his *De jure regni* having rendered his Memory as sacred to the Seditious, as his excellent Stile and Wit has endeared him to Men of Sense and Letters. I am sensible of the Danger and Disadvantage of attacking a dead Man, and one whose Reputation seems fixed above the Malice of his Enemies. I profess I honour him too, as a Man that has obliged his Country; he trode the Theatre, whilst the Things he relates were acting; he shifted the Scenes with the principal Actors, and was himself no small Sharer in the Action, yet all these put together ought not to shield him as an Historian, from being called in question for what he asserts, nor protect him from that just Censure he deserves, in pretending to deliver faithfully the Actions of his Queen, against whom he rebelled, and by whose Enemies he was so liberally rewarded; for by the learned Mr. *Thomas Crawford's* Notes upon his History, I find that after her Banishment he was made Abbot of *Corferegal*, Tutor of *Drumakill*, Director of the Chancellery, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. These Posts were enough to shake the Honesty

of one Man ; but Suspicion must increase upon him when we find him constantly in *Murray's* House ^d, and at his Table, and himself openly confessing that he was one of those worthy Gentlemen who accompanied that natural Brother into *England*, to accuse his Royal Sister, then unjustly detained a Prisoner in that Kingdom.

But before I proceed to Particulars, and expose the Failings, or rather the designed Mistakes of this great Man, I shall give you his Character from Men of Integrity and Parts, which is, in my humble Opinion, sufficient to screen me from the Malice of his Admirers, and justify me for appearing against him, in Defence of the following Sheets, which so manifestly contradict many Things he has palmed upon the World for undeniable Truths. I shall only make Use of a few, and begin with the ingenious *Cambden* ^e, who speaking of the Murder of King *Henry*, Queen *Mary's* Husband, says, ‘ A Rumour was forthwith spread over all *Britain*, laying the Fact and Fault upon *Morton*, *Murray*, and other Confederates; they insulting over the weak Sex of the Queen, lay it upon her. What *George Buchanan* has written hereof, both in his History, and also in a little Book, intituled, *The Detection*, there is no Man but knoweth by the Books themselves printed. But forasmuch as he, being transported with partial Affection, and with *Murray's* Bounty, wrote in such Sort
‘ that

^d Vide *Buchanan* in Eng. Folio, Book 19. p. 224.

^e Eng. Folio, 4th Edit. Book 1. p. 88.

' that his Books have been condemned of Fal-
 ' shood by the Estates of the Realm of *Scot-*
 ' *land*, to whom more Credit is to be attribu-
 ' ted ; and since he himself sighing and sorrow-
 ' ing, sundry Times blamed himself, as I have
 ' heard, before the King, to whom he was
 ' Schoolmaster, for that he had employed his
 ' Pen so virulently against that well-deserving
 ' Queen, and upon his Death-bed wish'd he
 ' might live so long, till, by recalling the Truth,
 ' he might, even with his Blood, wipe away
 ' those Aspersions which he had by his bad
 ' Tongue unjustly cast upon her, but that (as
 ' he said, it would now be in vain, since he
 ' might seem to dote for Age, &c.' *Thuanus*,
 it is true, gives us quite another Story of his
 Repentance ; but it is probable *Cambden* was
 better informed, and indeed he wanted not Op-
 portunities to be so, as appears by what he
 writes in another Place, when speaking of the
 Arguments for and against the *Scots* Queen, be-
 fore the *English* Commissioners at *London*, and
 what lame Papers *Murray* gave in to prove her
 guilty. f ' He likeways delivered (says he) to
 ' them at the same Time, *Buchanan's* Book, in-
 ' titled, *The Detection*, which found but small
 ' Credit with most of these noble Persons, he
 ' being a Man partial on that Side, and of mer-
 ' cenary Credit.'

And indeed the famed and great *Spotiswood*
 says very little less, when speaking of the Let-
 ters found in *Bothwell's* Silver Cabinet, a Story
 that good Man takes up too easily ; he says

g These

f *Camb.* Book I. p. 117.

g These were afterwards divulged in Print,
 and adjected to a Libel, intituled, *The De-
 tection of the Doings of Queen Mary*, penned
 with great Bitterness by Mr. *George Buchanan*,
 &c.' Now, if we consider the Force of the
 Words *Libel*, and *penned with great Bitterness*,
 we must turn the Historian out of Doors, and
 the good Bishop might in plain Terms, with
Camden, as well have called Mr. *Buchanan* merce-
 nary. But take his Character from this great Pre-
 late at more Length, thus: ' h In his Old-age,
 says ' the Archbishop, he applied himself to write
 ' the *Scottish* History, which he penned with
 ' such Judgment and Eloquence, as no Coun-
 ' try can shew a better, only in this he is justly
 ' blamed, that with the Factions of the Time,
 ' and to justify the Proceedings of the Noble-
 ' men against the Queen, he went too far in
 ' depressing the Royal Authority of Princes;
 ' and allowing their Controulment by Subjects:
 ' His Bitterness also in writing of the Queen,
 ' and Troubles of the Time, all wise Men have
 ' disliked.' Thus far our Reverend Prelate,
 who being himself an Historian, spoke very
 modestly, lest he should seem to raise his Re-
 putation upon the Ruins of another.

I shall in the next Place give you a very wor-
 thy Author of the same Order, I mean the Bi-
 shop of *Carlisle*, who i speaking of his anti-
 monarchical Principles, and that he followed
Hector Boetius, expresses himself thus: ' When
 c ' he

g Archbp. *Spotiswood's* Hist. of the Church of Scotland,
 Book 1. p. 208.

h *Spot. Ch. Hist.* Book 6. p. 325.

i *Nic. Scot. Hist. Lib.* p. 114, 115, 116.

' he (*Buchanan*) describes the barbarous At-
 ' tention or Murder of any of their (*Scots*)
 ' Princes, he does it with such an Air of Plea-
 ' sure and Satisfaction, as shews that he delight-
 ' ed to dwell upon the Subject, and that the
 ' Head of a slaughtered Monarch could not be
 ' more (what he too often calls it) *gratum po-*
 ' *pulo spectaculum*, than it would have been
 ' so to himself, &c'. And a little further, ' The
 ' six last Books (of *Buchanan*) contain the Hi-
 ' story of Queen *Mary* and her Son, and it
 ' were to be wished that he had been as impar-
 ' tial as he is copious in these two Reigns.
 ' Then comparing him with *Spotiswood*, ' The
 ' Difference betwixt these two Historians, says
 ' my Author, is pretty considerable; the Arch-
 ' bishop had Leave to represent Queen *Mary's*
 ' Frailties plainly, and did it modestly, and Mr.
 ' *George*, without any Ceremony, treats her
 ' with all the Barbarity that his licentious Wit
 ' could invent. He laughs ^k at the pretended
 ' Miracles of devout Times, and yet upon the
 ' Occasion of King *Henry's* Murder, gravely
 ' furnishes us with a Couple of as plump ones
 ' as ever any Legend afforded.'

Take Sir *James Melvil* thus, who was well
 acquainted with his Person and Humour, and
 who frequently conversed with him when he
 was writing the latter Part of his History:
 ' ^l Mr. *George Buchanan* was a Stoick Philoso-
 ' pher, who looked not far before him, (mean-
 ' ing he was a bad Courtier) a Man of notable
 ' En-

^k Vide *Buchanan* in Eng. B. 18. p. 119.

^l *Mel. Mem.* p. 125.

' Endowments, for his Learning and Know-
 ' ledge in Latin Poesy much honoured in other
 ' Countries, pleasant in Conversation, rehear-
 ' sing at all Occasions Moralities short and in-
 ' structive, whereof he had Abundance, in-
 ' venting where he wanted. He was also reli-
 ' gious, but was easily abused, and so facile,
 ' that he was led by every Company that he
 ' haunted ; which made him factious in his old
 ' Days, for he spoke and wrote (of the civil
 ' Troubles in his own Time) as those who
 ' were about him informed him ; for he was
 ' become careless, following in many Things
 ' the vulgar Opinion ; for he was naturally po-
 ' pular, and extremely revengeful against any
 ' Man who had offended him, which was his
 ' greatest Fault.' Here Sir *James* adds two no-
 ' table Instances of his vindictive Temper, one
 ' against the Earl of *Monteith*, and the other con-
 ' cerning the Earl of *Morton*, about a fine easy
 ' Pad which that Nobleman unjustly detained
 ' from him ; ' and therefore, (says he) tho' he
 ' had been the Regent's (*Morton's*) great Friend
 ' before, he became his mortal Enemy, and
 ' from that Time forth spoke Evil of him in
 ' all Places, and at all Occasions, &c.'

The Laird of *Straloch*, a Person of great
 Worth, Learning, and Judgment, gives his
 Opinion very freely of *Buchanan* and of his Hi-
 story, which is proper to be here inserted. This
 honourable Gentleman allows *Buchanan* to have
 been an excellent Scholar, and the Prince of
 Poets, not only for that Age in which he lived,
 but that many preceeding Ages could not pre-
 tend to such another Poet. Yet this does not

screen his History, and his Pasquil *de jure regni*, &c. from Straloch's just and pointed Censures, who scruples not to say, that in the first three Books of his History, *convitiatorem agit, non historicum*, and he chastises him justly for his Investives against King *Kenneth*, who restored and confirmed the Kingdom to the next Heir of the Royal Family, tho' under Age, excluding all other Princes of the Blood from Access to the Throne, and for his so unreasonably running down all Female Government in Kingdoms. But what is most to my Purpose, is in *English* as follows: ' m When he (*Buchanan*) has brought his History down to his own Times, Affairs then being in great Confusion, and the Kingdom miserably embroiled with Tumults, Good God! how barefacedly does he side with a Party? He is no longer an Historian, but an Advocate for the Faction, wretchedly perverting the Truth of Facts, so as hardly any Thing that is either sound or candid is to be met with in him; and all this to get his Patron n fixed in the Height of Power, whom nevertheless he lived to see taken off the Stage by a bloody Death. But even that could not bring his factious Spirit to any Temper; witness his notorious Dialogue *De jure regni*, written after he came to a great Age; in which, forgetting himself, he treats of such Matters as require the Pen of the best Divine, and skilfullest Lawyer. Thus, from instructing and disciplining Boys, he straight

' com-

m *Vide Vitam Joh. Forbesii a Corse, p. 67, 68. Ex officina Westoniensis, 1703.*

n Earl of Murray.

commences a Statesman, and dictates new Schemes of Government. But for that he received due Correction from two most learned Countrymen of his own, who were also eminent Lawyers, *Blackwood* and *Barclay*, whose most learned Books on that Subject are still extant. Whoever reads them without Prejudice must own, that they treated him but as he deserved; for compare exactly his Rhapsody *De jure regni*, with his History, and you will soon be satisfied that the Treatise *De jure regni*, is his Scheme of Government, and the History so wrested by him, as it might best serve to confirm and establish his Hypothesis. The Acts of that Parliament^o, in which these Books are prohibited, declare the Judgment of King *James* when a Youth, and that of the Estates of the Kingdom concerning them. And Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον^p which was written by that King in the full Maturity of his Age and Judgment, will witness for him, that he did not alter his Opinion, but that he was more confirmed in it. My Design in taking Notice of these Things, is not to insult the *Manes* of that most famous Man; that indeed were a very great Crime, but in Matters of so great Consequence, not to do Justice to Truth, or to suffer it to be run down and oppressed, were a heinous Impiety.

I shall only add one Character more of Mr. *Buchanan*; it is judicious and modest, equally

c. 3

just

^o Parliam. 6. Jac. 6. A. D. 1584. cap. 134.

^p Βασ. Δωρ. Lib. 2. Non illos Buchananī libellos famulos, quos qui in tua usque tempora asservavit, sentiat ille mearum legum pœnas.

just to his Virtues and his Faults, drawn by the admirable Pen of my Namesake and Relation Mr. *James Crawford*, a Son of the Family of *Camlerig*, in his Preface to his History of the House of *Este*. He was Historiographer for *Scotland*, I think, in the Year 1680. ' *Buchanan*, says he, excelled not only all that went before him in his own Country, but had scarce his Equal in that learned Age wherein he lived. He spent the first Flame and Rage of his Fancy in Poetry, in which, whether he did imitate *Virgil* in Heroicks, *Ovid* in Elegicks, *Lucretius* in writing Philosophy, *Seneca* in Tragedies, *Martial* in Epigrams, or *Horace* and *Juvenal* in Satyrs, he copied after these great Masters so perfectly that nothing ever approached nearer the Original; and his immortal Paraphrase on the Psalms doth shew, that neither the Constraint of a limited Matter, the Darkeness of Expression, nor the frequent Return of the same or the like Phrases, could confine or exhaust that vast Genius. At last, in his old Age, when his Thoughts were purified by long Reflexion and Business, and a true Judgment came in the room of one of the richest Fancies that ever was, he wrote our History with such Beauty of Style, Easiness of Expression, and Exactness in all its Parts, that no Service nor Honour could have been done the Nation like it, had he ended so noble a Work as he begun, and carried it on till King *James Vth's* Death; but being unhappily engaged in a Faction, and Resentments working violently upon him, he suffered himself to be so strangely biassed, that in

the

the Relation he gives of many of the Transactions of his own Time, he may rather pass for a Satyrist than an Historian.' Having thus far made Way from the Testimonies of Men of Credit, to prove *Buchanan* no Historian after he begins the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and consequently not to be trusted in his Account of Affairs from the Year 1565, till 1583, I shall next proceed to make some Remarks upon particular Passages in his pretended History of this Princess, and the Occurrences of that Time, in so far as they concern or contradict these Memoirs.

I shall begin with his Account of Secretary *Rizio's* Murder, which he says was because of his scandalous Familiarity with the Queen, and gives us a very formal Story^r of *David's* being in her Bed-chamber, the Door locked, and the King in vain endeavouring to get in. It is true, he almost, if not quite, forgets himself when he comes closer to the Point; for in the very next Page^t, telling us, that the Cause of the Lords who were banished was hotly disputed in the Parliament-house, and that *Rizio* was feeling the Members Pulses, how they would vote, if he was chosen Speaker or President, and had told them plainly that the Queen was resolved to have them condemned, he has these very Words: ' This audacious Improbability of so mean a Fellow was feared by some, and hated by all; whereupon the King, by his Father's Advice, sent for *James Douglas* and *Patrick*

^r *Buch.* B. 17. p. 179. Eng. Fol.

^t B. 17. p. 180.

' *trick Lindsay*, his Kinsmen ; they advise with
 ' *Patrick Ruthven*, an able Man, both for Ad-
 ' vice and Execution. — w The King was
 ' told by them, what a great Error he had com-
 ' mitted before in suffering his Kinsmen and
 ' Friends to be driven from the Court, in Fa-
 ' vour of such a base Rascal as *Rizio*. — The
 ' King was quickly brought to confess his Fault,
 ' and to promise to act nothing for the future
 ' without the Consent of the Nobility. But
 ' these wise and experienced Counsellors thought
 ' it not safe to trust the verbal Promises of an
 ' uxorious young Man ; — and therefore they
 ' drew up the Heads of their Contract in Wri-
 ' ting, to which he willingly and forwardly
 ' subscribed. The Heads were, for establishing
 ' Religion, as it was provided for at the Queen's
 ' Return to *Scotland* ; to bring Home the Persons
 ' lately banished, because their Country could
 ' not well want their Service ; and to destroy
 ' *David* : For as long as he was alive the King
 ' could not maintain his Dignity, nor the Nob-
 ' lity be in Safety. They all set their Hands to
 ' this Schedule, wherein the King professing him-
 ' self the Author of the Homicide, they resolved
 ' presently to attempt the Fact, both to prevent
 ' the Condemnation of the absent Nobles, and
 ' also lest Delay might discover their Designs,
 ' and therefore when the Queen was at Supper,
 ' &c.' The Reader may see by this there was
 something more in the Wind than the King's
 Jealousy, and that other People, not *Henry*,
 contrived the Murder, tho' Mr. *George* sends
 him

him away almost in a Frenzy from the Chamber Door, where he says the Queen and *Rizio* were locked up together ; * ' he (King *Henry*) could sleep none that Night, and from that Time forward consulted with his Servants how to rid *David* out of the Way. *Camden* is both positive and particular in this Affair, who says, ' This Murder was committed the Day before *Murray* was to appear, according to his Summons, to answer for Rebellion, in an Assembly of the Estates ; who the next Day appeared, when no Man looked for him, and in so troublesome a Time no Man appeared against him, so as the Murder of *David* might seem to have been hastened of Purpose for *Murray's* Safety and Security.' But to be better satisfied, look a little further into the same Author ², and there, in a Protestation signed by the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle*, which he copied from the Original, then in the Queen of *England's* Hands, you will find the Matter undeniable. ' In the Month of *December*, 1566, (say these noble Persons) when the Queen lay at *Craigmillar*, *Murray* and *Lethington* acknowledged before us, that *Morton*, *Lindsay*, and *Ruthven*, slew *David Rizio*, to no other Intent than to save *Murray*, who was at that very Time to be proscribed.' This Confession being out of *Murray's* own Mouth, and attested by such honourable Witnesses, I may save myself the Labour of mustering any more Evidences, but shall nevertheless adduce Sir *James Melvil*, who gives

* B. 17. p. 179.

^y *vid. in Eng. Fol. 4 Edit. p. 91. B. 1.*

² Page 91.

gives the same Account of this Affair ^a, only adding, that *Morton* fearing the Parliament might recall some very considerable Grants, surreptitiously obtained from the Queen during her Minority, resolved by this Murder not only to make a Change at Court, but put a Stop to that Meeting of the Estates, in which his Friends were likely to be forfeited, *Rizio* appearing stoutly against them. *Spotiswood* says, ^b *Rizio* was to be Chancellor in *Morton's* Stead, and agrees in the main exactly with *Camden* and *Melvil*. Before I pass from this, I cannot but take Notice how *Buchanan* flurs over the Story of the Murder itself ^c; and tho' he seems to tell the Manner of the Fact fully, and with some Pleasure too, yet he can carefully pass some barbarous Circumstances, which he knew would something weaken the Honesty of the Murderers, and in some Measure excuse the Queen's Coldness to an Husband afterwards, who had treated her so inhumanely. He expatiates not here as in Things that make for his Purpose, mentions not one Word of the Peril of Abortion, into which so great a Fright might have reasonably brought the Queen, and industriously avoids telling how, when the Assassins entered the Room, the King stood in a friendly Manner leaning upon her Chair, waiting till they came, how at the very first Rush they overturned her Table and Candlesticks, and that whilst her unhappy Secretary fastened his Arms about her Middle, to secure himself, *Douglas* struck the King's Dag-

^a *Mel. Mem. Vide p. 64.*

^b *Spot. Ch. Hist of Scot. B. 4. p. 194.*

^c *Eng. Fol. B. 17. p. 181.*

ger into his Back even then, and left it there till they dragged him into the next Room, and dispatched him. It is true, in his wonted Manner, he makes a notable Speech for my Lord *Ruthven*^d, to justify at once the basest of Murders, and the Height of Treason, and makes him so very insolent, tho' an Hero, as to threaten his injured Princess with the Fate of her Secretary; for what else can be meant by that Clause, 'And if any former King had done otherwise, he smarted severely for it.' Now that our Author sham'd the Matter, appears plain from Sir *James Melvil*^e, who was at that very Time within the Palace, and got out next Morning with great Difficulty, and could but not be particularly informed in this Affair.

However, I shall add what *Spotiswood* says on the same Subject, a Man who can be charged with no other Failing but that he relied too much sometimes upon *Buchanan's* Honesty. Speaking of *Rizio's* Death, f ' Yet (adds my Author) they had no Command from the Contrivers so to kill him, it being their Purpose to have brought him to publick Execution.—And good it had been for them so to have done, or then to have taken him in another Place, and at another Time than the Queen's Presence; for besides the great Peril of Abortion, which her Fear might have caused, the false Aspersions cast upon her Fame and Honour, by that Occasion, were such as she could never digest, and drew on all the pitiful Accidents which
' as-

^d B. 17. p. 181.

^e Vide Mel. Mem. p. 64.

^f Spot. Hist. Ch. of Scot. B. 4. p. 295.

' afterwards ensued.' This is a plain Confession of the double Injury done to the Queen. Murder is not here justified with fine Speeches, nor the Matter so ambiguously delivered as to leave room for Suspicion. It is so far from that, that we are told ' the Aspersions cast upon her Fame ' and Honour were false,' and such as her Value of Reputation could never suffer her to digest. As for the Manner of the Secretary's Burial, mentioned by *Buchanan* g, and which, as he scandalously and immodestly expresses it, was a Proof of her being an Adulteress, I find it not so much as mentioned by any of those three Authors I have already cited, nor by any one Man that can pretend to the Name of a Writer. It is true we may read it *verbatim* in a Book lately published, intituled, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland, &c.* But I shall leave it to the Judgment of any Man who has read that Piece, if it ought not rather to have been called *Buchanan's Faults improved*, or a Part of that Author copied or translated *de novo*.

As to what he relates of the Queen's being eager for a Divorce from her Husband ^h, that ' if she obtained it not, she would lay violent Hands on herself,' appears plainly forged from *Huntly* and *Argyle's* Protestation above mentioned. *Melvil* says nothing of it; and *Spotiswood* ⁱ so far agrees with *Camden*, that he uses some of the same Words, nay Sentences, to express the Queen's Dislike to this Divorce. But this was what our Author found very necessary

g B. 17. p. 183.

^h Eng. Fol. B. 18. p. 183.

ⁱ *Spot. Ch. Hist. of Scot.* B. 4th, p. 196, 197.

fary, to prepare the Belief of his Reader, and smooth the Way for that fine Tale he is shortly to give him of the King's Murder. But however, lest one Story had not proved a Dose strong enough to work upon a stubborn Constitution, he has another at your Service, fit for the Purpose, and just as true as the last. Take it thus in his own Words : * ' A little before Winter, says he, when the Ambassadors from *France* and *England* came to be Witnesses of the Baptism of the Prince, the Queen strove, both by pecuniary and all other industrious Ways, that *Bothwell* should appear the most magnificent of all her Subjects and Guests at the Entertainment, whereas her lawful Husband was not allowed Necessaries.—As for his Apparel and Dress, she put the Fault upon the Embroiders, Goldsmiths, and other Tradesmen, whereas it was but a false shameless Pretence, for every Body knew it was her own Occasion. Whereas, for *Bothwell's* Ornaments, she wrought many of them with her own Hands, &c.' Now, consider *Bothwell* has all the Cash a prodigal Queen can spare, to make him wondrous beauish ; nay she must have some of her own Handy-work upon him too, tho' it was not easy for a Sovereign, oppressed with Cares and Business, to sew so much in private, and if she did it in publick, she was very fond indeed to put it upon her Gallant's Back, before all the World, and upon so solemn an Occasion. But so it is, our Author knew the old Proverb, *Quos Deus vult perdere, &c.* and therefore thought

d it

* *Buch. Eng. Fol. B. 18. p. 186.*

it convenient to make his Royal Jilt a Fool into the Bargain. Having thus equipped the Earl, made him a downright Beau, and the poor King a very Tatterdemalion, not fit to be seen in so scurvy a Pickle, you will imagine perhaps the Prince is about to borrow a Suit from his Lordship, to serve the present or any other Occasion. But instead of that, be pleased to turn the Leaf^m, and to your great Surprise you will find the King dead, and a Taylor sitting up his shabby Coat to make *Bothwell* a Spark. This is a Turn indeed, and you will certainly think that this has been many Years after the Baptism, that the Queen has been reconciled to her Husband, and *Bothwell* banished the Court, and reduced to a low Condition. But you must know, Reader, this is reckoning without your Host ; for in the first Place, the Prince was baptised in *December*, and the King died in *February* following ; he fell sick (Mr. *Buchanan* says of Poison) the very next Day after his Son was baptised, and never recovered, and probably never stood in Need of a new Suit of Clothes. The Queen was so far from being reconciled to him, that our great (but here unfaithful) Historian says, she helped to send him into another World ; and *Bothwell* was so far from being out of Favour, that she was over Head and Ears in Love with him, he ruled the Court, ‘ and no Place could be obtained unless they first petitioned him.’ But after all, strange Taylors may do Wonders, for this Fellow, who was the stoutest Man of his Employment that ever I read of, had the Bold-

ness

ness to say, or Mr. *Buchanan* writ it for him, that m^e ' he now saw the old Country Custom ' verified, the Executioner had the Apparel of ' those who suffered by his Hand.' I must confess, this Master Fashioner of Mr. *Buchanan's* was, in my Opinion, fitter to be a Companion to *Mutius Scævola*, than a Mender of old Cloaks and Coats, when I remember he made this bold Speech in publick. But enough of this Raillery, I come now to the serious Matter of the King's Death.

All Authors agree, that King *Henry* was murdered, but how, and by whom, is not indeed so unanimously condescended upon. Mr. *Buchanan* lays the Fact down at the Queen and *Bothwell's* Door; they begot it between them; and her Majesty was so wondrously pleased with it, that she went to Bed, and there lay n^e ' secure, and soundly asleep, a great Part of the ' next Day.' But I must think *Huntly* and *Argyle* understood the Matter as well as Mr. *George*, and it is as safe and as mannerly too to rely upon what they writ to the Queen of *England* °, as upon his bare Assertion: They lay it fairly upon *Morton* and *Murray*. And the Laird of *Grange*, who was one of the Rebels, and had the Government of the Castle of *Edinburgh* given him by *Murray*, when he was made Regent, says, *Morton* and Mr. *Archibald Douglas* were the Parricides p. *Spotiswood* does not mention the Queen's Name, but lays it wholly upon *Both-*
d 2 well;

m Vide Page 194.

n *Buch.* Eng. Fol. B. 18. p. 190.

o Vide *Camd. Hist. Eliz.* 4th Edit. Eng. B. 1. p. 93.

p Vide *Sir Ja. Mel. Mem.* p. 100. *Spot.* B. 4th, p. 200.

well; and Sir *James Melvil* agrees so fully with him, that speaking of the King's Murder, and how that unfortunate Prince had got some Inking of the Design against him, from *Robert Earl of Orknay*, † ' This Advertisement, says ' he, moved the Earl of *Bothwell* to haste forward his Enterprize; he had before laid a ' Train of Powder under the House, where the ' King did lodge, and in the Night did blow ' up the said House with the Powder.' But it was ' spoken that the King was taken forth, and ' brought down to a Stable, where a Napkin ' was stopped in his Mouth, and he therewith ' suffocated.' This in my Opinion clears the Queen, since no Man has accused her but Mr. *George*. But what seems yet a more convincing Proof of her undoubted Innocence, and of *Murray* and *Morton's* Guilt, is, that not one Man who ever suffered for that Fact, (as *Bothwell's* Servants, or Dependents upon his Fortune) confessed the same, but at the Place of Execution acquitted her Majesty, and laid it Home upon these two Earls. To sum up all this in few Words, *Huntly*, *Argylz*, *Grange*, *Camden*, *Spotiswood*, and *Melvil*, unanimously acquitted Queen *Mary*, and *Buchanan* alone would have her guilty. The two first seem likeways inclined to discharge *Bothwell*, but our Author will fasten the Crime upon him, and *Spotiswood* and *Melvil* have very well backed his Evidence, but his own Guilt more. However, I desire the Reader to compare Mr. *Buchanan's* two Accounts of this Murder, the one in his 18th B. p. 190. the

† † Vide Sir Ja. Mel. Mem. p. 78.

the other in *B. 20th, p. 226.* where he hooks in the Archbishop of *St. Andrews.*

The Labour would be almost endless to trace him through the whole Journey of Queen *Mary's* Misfortunes ; he stumbles too often, to be always taken up ; I shall therefore, to shun being tedious, make many Leaps, and only pay my Attendance in very conspicuous Places, and when he is about Matters of considerable Moment. By the bye, even against that good Resolution, I cannot but take Notice of that undecent and unworthy Reflexion of his, when relating how *Bothwell* surpris'd her Majesty coming from *Stirling.* ' ' It was too tedious, ' says he, to expect his Divorce from his former Wife, and she was willing to consult her Honour, which she pretended to have a great Regard to, yet she would provide for her Lust too, of which she was very impatient, and therefore the Device was thought to be very pretty.' Now, for any thing I can find, this Device has been only pretty to Mr. *George*, for I never read another who charged her with such a burning Stock of Heat as he has done. But to prove his good Nature, honest Man, this is but the old Tune play'd twice ; for these are his very preceeding Words, ' ' She could not altogether conceal her Familiarity with *Bothwell*, nor yet could well want it, nor could she openly enjoy it as she desired, without the Loss of her Reputation.' I refer it to the Reader if these two Sentences are not the same,

d 3

only

² *Buch. Eng. Fol. B. 18. p. 197.*

¹ *Ibid.*

only the first was more modestly expressed, and the latter being in grosser Terms, only served to inculcate the Scandal into a forgetful Peruser of his Book, to gratify his own Humour, and show how well he could play the Satyrift in a double Form. But to come closer to the Point, Where was the Necessity of this pretty Device? What Use had the Queen for this publick Sham? The Matter required not a Blind, and might on her Side as well have been done without it. The Case is plain, our Author, when he made this Comment upon the Business, had forgot what he had told us in the very foregoing Page, v ' That *Bothwell* invited all the Nobility of ' the highest Rank which were then in Town, ' (as there were many) to Supper, and desired ' them to shew that Respect to him for the figure which they had always done heretofore, ' At present he only desired, that whereas he ' was a Suiter to the Queen, they would subscribe to a Schedule which he had made about ' that Matter, and that would be a Means to ' procure him Favour with the Queen, and ' Honour with all the People.' Now here are all the Men of prime Quality in *Edinburgh*, very few or none absent, Mr. *George* says, all of them subscribed this Schedule, which was to advise the Queen to marry that Earl; doubtless there were many of that Number her sworn Privy Counsellors, and no Man who considers the Matter, but must own her Majesty stood not in Need of this pretty Device of a Rape, but was indeed forced; for she declined the Marriage,

not-

notwithstanding of this general Advice, signed by so many Peers and Counsellors. I have insisted upon this Reflexion of Mr. *Buchanan's*, not so much for the Harshness of the Manner of it, as for its Inconsistency with Truth, and I am sure the Reader will permit me the Benefit of a few Words more upon the same Subject. We have hitherto then had a Rape upon the Queen^w, of her own Contrivance, and delivered as an express Truth not to be at all questioned. Now the Lines immediately following assure us her Majesty was wholly innocent and ignorant of the Affair. There was no such Thing as Love or Lust in the Case. It was a downright Plot, laid by *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross*, that when *Bothwell* obtained a Remission for the Rape, he might, under the general Term or Clause, *Of all other Crimes*, include a Pardon for the King's Murderers. I leave this to the ingenious to determine, whether Mr. *Buchanan* ought not to have kept close to his *pretty Device*, or depended entirely upon the Bishop's Plot; or if both, tho' inconsistent with one another, were necessary, the one to prove *Bothwell* a Parricide, and the other to make the Queen an Adultress.

Thus far we have seen this abused Lady a Queen; and crowned Heads, it may be, could never please our Author's Palate; we shall then make those very Men who advised her to sue a Divorce from her second Husband *Henry*, and those who persuaded her to marry *Bothwell* after his Death, take up Arms against her, meerly

^w B. 18. p. 197.

^x *Ibid*.

ly because she followed their Counsel : We shall yet go a Step further, make her Friends desert her, drive away her new Husband, and deliver her an unhappy Prisoner to her Enemies, who ought to have guarded her from others. This you will expect perhaps will inspire him with Compassion, and make him better natured than he has proved himself hitherto. But instead of that, he continues just the old Man, and tells the melancholy Story with such a Gust, and so fully, how she swooned, how they called her Whore, &c. what unseemly Clothes she had upon her, y^e 'a mean Thread-bare Tunicle, 'reaching only a little below her Knees;' and makes her march so slowly through the gazing Mob, as too well confirms the Truth of the Bishop's Character of him, and his *gratum populo spectaculum*. He conceals Grange's fair Words, the Nobility's Promises, and Morton's insolent Answer when the French Ambassador was endeavouring to compose Matters, and told him the Queen was peaceably inclined, and disposed to forgive the Insurrection, and forget all past Offences. z 'We come not, said that Earl, to 'ask Pardon for any Offence that we have done, 'but rather to give Pardon to those that have offended.' He forgets too that memorable Speech of the Queen's, when (having abandoned her Followers) she surrendered herself a Prisoner to her rebellious Subjects : a 'My Lords, I 'am come unto you, not out of any Fear I had of 'my Life, or yet doubting of the Victory, if

y *Buch Eng. B. 18. p. 210.*

z *Spot. Ch. Hist. B. 4. p. 207.*

a *Spot. ibid.*

Matters had gone to the worst, but I abhor the shedding of Christian Blood, especially of those that are my own Subjects, and will therefore yield unto you, and be ruled by your Councils, hereafter trusting you will respect me as your Queen.' But this voluntary Surrender of hers, upon what Conditions, and how well they kept to Articles with her, is yet set in a clearer Light by Sir *James Melvil*^b, and in such a Way as carries at once an Air of Truth and of Sorrow for this Breach of Faith.

I shall, to be brief, come next to her Resignation of the Crown in the Castle of *Lochlevin*. Our Historian is in this Matter put to his Shifts; he strains hard to make the Dimission voluntary; and tho' afterwards he pleaded it was such in *England*, yet here, where every Body knew it was forced, he makes it a *Harlequin's* Cloak, or to speak in plainer Terms, he gives it sometimes willingly, sometimes by Constraint, and very often would leave it doubtful. However I shall endeavour to uncase what he would thus make a Mystery, and expose the Matter to open View. He begins the Business thus: 'In the Interim, the Vindicators of the publick Parricide^d dealt with the Queen, whom they could not separate from the Concerns of the Murderers, to resign up her Government upon Pretence of Sickness, or any other specious Allegation, and to commit the Care of her Son, and the Administration of publick Affairs, to which of the Nobles

^b Page 83.

^c *Buch. Eng. B. 13. p. 212.*

^d An Epithet, which in common with that of Lords, he always bestows upon the Rebels.

'Nobles she pleased. At last, with much ado
 'she appointed as Governors to the Child
 'James Earl of Murray, &c. Here his won-
 ed Humanity to the Queen is still in Force, 'she
 'could not be separated from the Concerns of
 'the Murderers,' tho' it appears plain from Sir
James Melvil^e, who was sent by this Princess
 to tax *Grange* with his Promise in Behalf of these
 Vindicators, that she was wholly alienated from
 them. And I leave it to the Readers to judge
 if 'dealt with the Queen,' and 'at last, with
 'much ado,' look like a voluntary Resignation
 or not. But we shall compare this with the ve-
 ry next Page^f, where telling what Arguments
 were used to persuade *Murray* to take the Go-
 vernment upon him, such as his Popularity,
 grounded on his Deserts, he goes on in these ve-
 ry Words, 'The Queen desired it too.' Now
 the Question is, if *Murray* knew she desired it.
 But that is immediately solved; for he goes on
 'He, the Earl, tho' knowing what they said
 'was true, yet desired a few Days of Delibera-
 'tion before he gave in his Answer.' As I take
 it then, Mr. *George* has here made the Resigna-
 tion both forced and spontaneous. But we find
 him yet much plainer upon this Head, in *Mor-*
ton's Account of his Negotiation in *England*, to
 the Parliament at *Stirling*; where, after a long
 and barbarous Invektive against the Queen, and
 many Arguments to prove the Murder of Prin-
 ces lawful, he comes at last to her Resignation
 of the Crown, and expresses himself thus: 8 'A
 'young

^e *Mel. Mem.* p. 84.

^f Page 213.

^g *Buch. Eng. Fol. B.* 20. p. 270.

young Woman, unable to undergo the Burden, and tossed by the Storms of unsettled Affairs, sent Letters to the Nobility to free her from that Government, which was as burdensome to her as it was honourable : It was granted her : She desired the Government might be transferred from her to her Son : Her Request was assented to : She also desired to have the naming of the Guardians, who might manage the Government till her Son came to be of Age : It was done as she desired, &c.' I presume it will not be easy to reconcile this Part of Mr. *George's* fine Speech with his specious Allegations, and his much ado, for here is nothing but Desiring, Requesting, and Begging, on the Queen's Part, and one would readily imagine the Vindicators had been so far from dealing with her about her Resignation, that she had dealt with them, and invented the Pretence of Sickness herself. But we shall see from others, how far this Act of the Queen's was spontaneous or forced. *Camden* informs us, that after they had used milder Arguments to persuade her, and these not succeeding, ^h 'They threatened to bring her to a publick Trial, &c.' And at length, by putting her in Fear of Death, they compelled her, unheard, to set her Hand to three Writings, by the first whereof she resigned the Kingdom to her Son, &c. By another she constituted *Murray* Regent, &c.' Let us next see what *Spotiswood* makes of this Affair. In short, by what follows, you will find he seconds *Camden* against his Countryman ; for after he

has

^h *Camb. Eliz. B. 1. p. 96.*

has told us that she refused it flatly, yet (he says) being rudely used by the Lord *Lindsay*, and informed by *Lethington* and *Athole* that she endangered her Life by a Denial, *Throgmorton* the *English* Ambassador having likewise assured her too, that a Resignation, during Imprisonment, was void in Law; i ' without reading one of the Writs presented to her, she set her Hand to ' the same, the Tears running down in Abundance from her Eyes.' *Melvil* gives us the same Account of this Affair, and says, the Conspirators sent my Lord *Lindsay*, first to persuade her to a Resignation by fair Means, and if that succeeded not, they were resolved to enter into harder Measures. *Athole*, *Mar*, and *Lethington*, persuaded her to comply, to shun that Danger which threatened her if she refused, she nevertheless continued positive not to yield, k ' till ' (says my Author) she heard that the Lord *Lindsay* was at the new House at the Shore ' coming in, and in a very boasting Humour, ' and then she yielded to the Necessity of the ' Time.'

To conclude this Point, I think after Mr. *George*'s much ado, and what is said by *Camden*, *Melvil* and *Spotiswood*, no Man will think the Queen desired, requested and begged to have the Government taken off her Hands. The Reader may remember too that *Murray* was shy, and refused to accept the proferred Regency: But this was a Piece of Art, and not real Modesty, as appears very plain from Sir *James Melvil*,

' I have

i *Spot. Ch. Hist. B. 4. p. 211.*

k *Mel. Mem. p. 85.*

‘ I have before related, says he, that my Lord Murray was written for to come Home, and so soon as he came to *London*, the Lords were thereof advertised, who desired me to ride and meet him at *Berwick*, and shew him how the Office of Regent was appointed for him, which Journey I accepted, &c.’ Now I would fain know what brought this Earl so soon Home, who resolved to have rambled five Years, and had not staid above one ? What made him juggle at the Court of *France*, and leave that Court in an Hurry ? And lastly, Who forced him to accept of the Government ? But Sir *James* soon informs us what brought him so hastily Home ; for telling us how *Mar*, *Athole* *Lethington*, *Tullibardin*, and *Grange*, sent Instructions with him to *Murray* in their Name, to request him to behave himself gently to the Queen, who was now free from ill Company, and repented of many Things past ; ^m ‘ He appeared (says he) much to relish this Advice : But he seemed somewhat refractory of accepting the Government, refusing it plainly at first, albeit I was well informed by some of his Company that he was right glad, when he understood first that he was to be Regent.’ I must confess it is probable Mr. *George* knew this as well as Sir *James*, but because it makes not for his Hero, he concealed it ; for what can we infer from *Athole*, *Mar*, &c. their Request concerning the Queen, but that they were well enough acquainted with his barbarous Humour, and endeavoured to keep

c

him

¹ Mel. Mem. p. 87.

² Mel. Mem. *ibid*.

him from venting it upon this unfortunate Princess, who was already sufficiently oppressed, and suffered enough to move any Man's Compassion but Mr. *Buchanan's* and the Earl of *Murray's*. It is for the same Reason that he does not in the least mention that the Earl paid a Visit to the Queen in *Lochleven*; and indeed there was something in it so unbecoming a Gentleman, and a great Man, that it was reasonable his Friend and Advocate should hide it from the World. But since others have not been so indulgent to his Faults, we can nevertheless give you a tolerable Account of the Matter. I shall begin, as usual, with *Camden*, because he is a Stranger, who, acquainting us with the Earl's Arrival, says, ⁿ 'He came the third Day thereafter with some of the Conspirators to the Queen, and objected against her very many Crimes, which she for the most part flatly denied; and when again and again she intreated him to spare her Reputation and Life, he said it was not in his Power to grant her even the latter Part of her Request, but that she might sue for it at the Hands of the Estates.' This is not Hero like to Lord it inhumanly over the distressed. But we shall see if his Friend Sir *James* makes him better natured: You may remember then what Advice he brought him from some of the Nobility, and how they desired him to behave himself with respect to the Queen: ° 'But, says my Author, when he (the Earl) went to see her in *Lochleven*, instead of com-
'forting

ⁿ *Camd. Eliz.* 4th Edit. B. 1. p. 97.

° *Mel. Mem.* p. 87.

‘forting her, and following the good Counsel he
 ‘had gotten, he entered instantly with her Ma-
 ‘jesty in Reproaches, giving her such injurious
 ‘Language as was like to break her Heart. We
 ‘who found Fault with that Manner of Pro-
 ‘cedure lost his Favour.’ I refer it to the Read-
 er, whether this betrays a cruel Temper or not :
 But it is certain he had been easier determined in
 this Affair, if Sir *James* had exposed the Matter
 fully, and condescended upon Particulars, who
 instead of that, being doubtless ashamed of his
 Inhumanity, only adds, p ‘the Injuries were
 ‘such that they cut the Thread of Love and Cre-
 ‘dit betwixt the Queen and him for ever.’ Mr.
George in short passes every Hardship her Maje-
 sty met with, and amongst the rest that of her
 being insulted, whilst a Prisoner, by the Mother
 as well as the Son, and I am sorry to find a
 Stranger more sensible of this Princess’s Misfor-
 tunes than her own Subject.’ For *Camden* frank-
 ly tells, q ‘They used her in most unworthy
 ‘and disgraceful Manner, and clothed her in a
 ‘vile Weed, and thrust her into Prison at *Loch-*
 ‘*leven*, under the Custody of *Murray*’s Mo-
 ‘ther, who having been King *James* the Fifth’s
 ‘Concubine, most malapertly aggravated the
 ‘Calamity of the imprisoned Queen, boasting
 ‘that she was the lawful Wife of *James* the
 ‘Fifth, and that her Son *Murray* was his law-
 ‘ful Issue.’ Here it will not be amiss, I pre-
 sume, to inform the Reader who this ill-natur’d
 Mother was, and how far she had Reason to

c 2

boast

p Ibid.

q *Camd. Hist. Eliz. B. 1. p. 241*

boast of being King *James's* Wife. Her Name was *Margaret Erskine*; she was Daughter to *John Lord Erskine*, afterwards Earl of *Mar*; she was married to *Robert Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, from whom King *James* stole her upon the Marriage Night, and kept her till she was brought to Bed of *Murray*, then returned her again to her Husband, to whom she brought forth *William Douglas*, who came to be Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Douglas*, who became Earl of *Buchan*, by marrying the Heiress of *Buchan*, and *George Douglas*, who contrived Queen *Mary's* Escape out of the Castle of *Lochlevin*.

To trace Mr. *Buchanan* to the End of his Eighteenth and Twentieth Books, would be an endless Employment, and swell these Sheets too far beyond the common Bounds of a Preface. Having thus far then most superficially glanced at his Failings, to defend myself against those who believe him infallible in what he delivers concerning Queen *Mary*, I shall next take a very short View of his Hero *Murray*, whom he extols to the Skies, and to whom he allows not one Failing but Good-nature, that is, Want of Cruelty, as appears by that Character he gives him at his Death ^r, where he sums up at once what he had before scattered in his Praise upon several Occasions.

I confess I expected to have seen him adored for his Virtues, his Courage, Conduct, and unprecedented Lenity, and that the People's Veneration for him increased with his Years: But we *Scots* are a blind stiff sort of People; scarce a
Man

^r *I*de *Buch.* Eng. B. 20, p. 246.

Man amongst us, but Mr. *Buchanan*, could perceive his good Qualities ; for this wonderful Man, before he died, † ‘ was abandoned by his Friends, ‘ mocked even to his Face, and obliged to travel ‘ in Places of Danger, with a Retinue that hardly exceeded his ordinary Guard.’ It is a Wonder indeed that Mr. *George* owns so much, and assigns no Manner of Cause for this unkind Usage ; but, honest Man, he soon repents of this Confession, for when he comes to inform us how his Hero was killed, ‡ ‘ The adverse Faction (says he, meaning the Loyalists) perceiving the Authority and Power of the Regent ‘ increase, and that besides his Popularity at ‘ Home, &c.’ I leave it to the Learned to reconcile these two Passages, and how it is possible for a Man to be both despised and formidable to his Enemies, hated and beloved by his nearest Friends, and all this at once.

I come now to the *Hamiltons*, or rather indeed Mr. *Buchanan*’s Contrivance for murdering the Hero w. The Story runs, that these Gentlemen subscribed a kind of Association, in which they were bound to cut off this good Regent, and that they employed one *Hamilton* for their Executioner. I shall first observe here, that he tells us no more of this *Hamilton*, than that the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was his Uncle, by the Mother’s Side. He speaks not a Syllable (as *Camden* does x) of the Gentleman being forfeited, dispossessed violently, his Wife turned

e 3.

naked.

† Vide B. 19. p. 243.

‡ Vide B. 20. p. 245.

w *Buch.* B. 19. p. 245.

x *Camd. Eliz.* B. 2. p. 142.

naked out of Doors, how she became furiously mad with this barbarous Treatment, and how he himself was sentenced to be no less than hanged, only because he served his Queen, and fought under her at the Battle of *Langside*. But to return to the Association, nor *Camden*, nor *Melvil* mention any such Plot. The last is so far from it, that he seems to insinuate that they had no Need of projecting the Matter beforehand; the Thing was very easy, for every Body was grown weary of him. y ' His Friends ' were so regardless of him, that tho' they knew ' of the Danger that threatened him, they ' would not be at so much Pains as to search ' the House, in which they were assured Mr. *Hamilton* lay concealed.' In the very preceeding Page too z, he candidly informs us, that he daily lost Ground amongst honest Men, and that he was wholly led away by Sycophants, to ruin good People, and that every Man began to conjecture his Destruction was at Hand. This looks as if both the Loyalists and Rebels had alike winked at the Manner of his Death, and the Conjecture seems more reasonable, when Sir *James* still tells us, how by the Insinuation of those about him, he hated *Grange* and *Lethington*. a ' Then, says he, like a weak House, ' wanting his sustaining Pillars, he fell, and ' those old and true Friends who admonished ' him, lost his Favour. I have written thus far ' of him, because every one knows not the ' Verity, how he was led away, &c.' The

Read-

y *Mel. Mem.* p. 103.

z Page 102.

a Page 103.

er may here at once observe Mr. *Buchanan's* Kindness to the *Hamiltons*, and his Sincerity in extolling *Murray*. But I shall proceed to another Point, which equally shews his Partiality to Truth, and to the Crimes of his Friend.

Every Body knows that *Murray* went into *England* with a Gang of his own, made up of bribed Lawyers, and his good Historian, to accuse his Queen, which he did both at *York* and *London*. Now Mr. *George* being thus present in his own Person, one would be apt to believe him, when he says *Murray* declined it long, and was drawn most unwillingly into this Manner of Proceeding against his Sister. I must confess the Action is so very scandalous and unnatural, that I should very readily acquit him, if Sir *James Melvil*, who was there as well as Mr. *Buchanan*, and had less Reason to be biassed, did not assure me *Murray* was frequently dissuaded from leading an Accusation against the Queen before Strangers, and that *Grange*, *Lethington*, and others, utterly detest so barbarous and inhuman a Method of supporting his Cause. In short, if any Man will be at the Pains to peruse Sir *James's* Memoirs, from Page 94. to 100, to find how *Murray* shuffled with his Friends, and how often he betrayed his most solemn Promises, doing and undoing every Thing, without Regard to Honour, he must be forced to confess him the very worst of Men, and one that deserved to be hated by all Mankind. I shall only give you a few Lines of these six Pages, where, after an Account of his having betrayed *Norfolk* the first Time, and of his having given in his Accusation against
the

the Queen. ^b ' The Queen of England (says
 ' my worthy Author) having obtained her In-
 ' tent, received thereby great Contentment
 ' thro' the Advantage she thereby received.
 ' First, she thought she had Matter for her, to
 ' shew wherefore she detained the Queen, when
 ' she was challenged by the foreign Ambassadors
 ' upon that Account: Then she was glad of the
 ' Queen's Dishonour. But in her Mind she de-
 ' tested the Regent and all his Company, and
 ' would notice him no more. — Thus the
 ' Regent won no other thing for his Labour
 ' but to be despised by the Queen and Council
 ' of *England*, detested by the Duke of *Norfolk*,
 ' and reproached by his best and truest Friends,
 ' suffered to ly a long Time at *Kingston*, in
 ' great Displeasure and Fears, without Money
 ' to spend, and without Hopes to get any from
 ' the Queen, &c.' I shall not tell you how
Norfolk for all this procured him 2000 *l. Sterl.*
 and how he paid him with a new Piece of
 Treachery, was trusted a second Time, and
 brought that great Peer at last to a Scaffold, for
 relying upon his Honesty. I shall only appeal
 to the impartial Reader, if *Murray* seems to
 have been drawn unwillingly into this Accusati-
 on, and if at that Time he either was a good
 Man, or reputed as such even by his Fellow-
 Rebels, much less by Men of Honesty and Ho-
 nour.

I come now to the last Passage in *Buchanan*
 which I design to take Notice of, and that is, a
 very

very formal Story he gives us, how *Hamilton* (for that Word could never please him) eluded his Promise, made many Delays, &c. and so was justly imprisoned, together with my Lord *Herries*, by *Murray*. The Business in short was this: *Hamilton*, *Herries*, and other Loyalists, being commanded by Queen *Mary*, to whom *Murray* had proposed a Marriage with *Norfolk*, to make their Peace, that Earl seemed very willing to receive them. A Day was agreed to by both Parties, to determine Matters, and adjust the Conditions, *Hamilton*, &c. in the mean Time, frankly giving Hostages for their peaceable Behaviour, till the Agreement should be perfected. Against the Time prefixed they came to *Edinburgh*, the Place of Meeting, and were no sooner conveyed, than, without listening to Arguments, and without any Manner of Regard to his Honour and Promises, this good honest Regent sent both *Hamilton* and *Herries*, who dreaded no such Treachery, Prisoners to the Castle. But for your Satisfaction, I shall see how *Camden* delivers this Affair: d ‘ *Murray* (says he) was no sooner come to *Edinburgh*, but he assembled the Noblemen that were addicted to the Queen, pretending to consult about her Restoration; whither when *Hamilton* and *Herries* came before the rest, he, fearing some fraudulent Dealing, circumvented them, and not staying for the coming of the rest, shut them up in Prison, and forthwith heavily prosecuted the Queen’s Favour-

‘ er3.

‘ *Buch. B. 19. p. 234.*

‘ *Camd. Eliz. B. 1. p. 125.*

'ers with all the Injuries of War.' Thus for the great *English* Author. But he being but one Witness against Mr. *Buchanan's* Honesty, and *Murray's*, take Sir *James Melvil* upon the same Affair thus : * ' There were many Devices how to entrap *Grange*, so as the Regent lost daily of his best Friends, and the Number of his Enemies increased ; for the Duke of *Chastellherault*, who was agreed with him, by the Intercession of the Lord *Herries*, when the Duke and the Lord *Herries* came to *Edinburgh*, as was appointed at the Agreement to concur with the Regent in Council, and otherways, for quieting the Country, they were both warded in the Castle against Process, &c.'

Having thus far, upon just Grounds, and an impartial Regard to Truth, exposed Mr. *Buchanan's* Sincerity, who being used as a Classick Author in most of our Schools, is commonly looked upon as infallible, because the first Impressions are always the strongest, I presume it will be expected I should say something else in Behalf of the following Memoirs ; and indeed I shall be as plain and as brief as possible. I had all the Substance of these Sheets from an antient M. S. presented me by my very good Friend Sir *James Baird* of *Saughtonhall*, who purchased it by meer Accident from the necessitous Widow of an Episcopal Clergyman. As for the Author's Fortunes, or particular Character, I am wholly in the dark ; however, thus much may be easily gathered from his Works, that he was
a Man

* *Mel. Mem.* p. 101.

Man of Sense, and one that made not a very mean Figure in the World, as appears by the distinctness and Solidity of his Reflexions, and his more exact and particular Account of the various Transactions and Turns of State in his Time, than is to be met with from any one Author upon the same Subject. The only probable Reason why he did not publish these Memoirs, seems to be this : The Wounds were yet fresh, the Parties concerned were then alive, and having writ impartially, and delivered Things as they really were, and not as they were said to be, he dreaded the Resentment of those whom he justly exposed, and who had the Power in their Hands of stamping upon Falshoods the Force of Authority, to make them pass current for Sterling Truths, and by the Sanction of the Civil Sword, could, like *Romish* Priests, transubstantiate Rebellion into Loyalty. For it is plain, from his own Words, he was living when King James VI. was married, where he says, speaking of Queen Mary's Flight into England, 'Albeit the Queen of Scotland was entered in the Realm of England by the Queen's own Permission, and great Promise of Friendship to follow thereupon, by the taking of the Diamond Ring carried by Sir Robert Melvil, now made Treasurer-depute of Scotland, &c.' And we all know Sir Robert got that Post a very few Months before the King's Marriage. But because it might be objected that his being alive at that Time, tho' it is *bona causa scientiæ*, yet is not at all a Proof of his Honesty ; and his Evidence may be of no Effect, unless I can purge him of Malice and partial Counsel, as the Lawyers express

press it ; I have therefore, and because I know this to be one of the knottiest Pieces in our *Scottish* History, compared him carefully with *Spenser*, *Melvil*, and *Camden*, who are generally allowed to have given the best Accounts of the Revolutions of that Time, and for the Reader's Satisfaction, in Matters of Importance if not already insisted upon in this long Preface instructed him in the Margin, during *Murray*'s Regency, to find out with Ease how far he agrees with most of these Authors.

I declare solemnly I have not, that I know of, wrested any of his Words, to add to one Man's Credit, or impair the Honesty of another, and (having no Manner of Dependence upon any Party ; for tho' the Persons are dead, the Parties, for ought I know, may be alive still) I have neither heightened nor diminished any particular Character or Action, but kept as close as possible to his Meaning and Sense. If I had delivered Things in his own Stile, it would have proved tedious and heavy to the nice Reader, and by many in our neighbouring Nation could hardly have been understood without a Dictionary. In the Language, as in Trade, the *English* have always kept the Start of us, and about an hundred and fifty Years ago we scarcely spoke beyond the *Chaucer*, who flourished in the fourteenth Century, tho' I confess we have improved faster since. The common and commendable Practice of our Neighbours, in making new Translations of innumerable Books written in old *English*, before their Language was polished and improved, as it is since the Restoration of King *Charles II.* shields me from any just Censure

For putting this important Piece of History in a more modern Dress than that in which its Author left it. I must acquaint my Reader too, that he had not fully digested his Matter into Form and Method, having marked down Things, as it seems, just when they happened, or when they came first within the Reach of his Knowledge. As to the Method and Stile in which he now appears, I know that

Vincit opus famam, nec sermo suppetit actis.
I was sensible enough too of my own Weakness. But since no Body had undertaken it, I thought the Task fell properly to my Lot now, *virtute officii*. I hope my Labour will afford the candid Reader the more Benefit and Pleasure, since the only Inducements I had to undertake it were to do Justice to oppressed Truth and Right, to do Service in my humble Station to the Crown and to my Country, and if possible, to disabuse those who have hitherto, for the Life of Queen *Mary*, and an Account of the Troubles during her Reign, unhappily consulted an History which ought no more to be credited than the Life and Death of the Royal Martyr *Charles I.* If written by *Cook, Ireton, or Bradshaw.*

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The BOOKSELLER'S

P R E F A C E.

THESE Memoirs, compiled by *David Crawford* of *Drumsoy*, Queen *Anne's* Historiographer for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, were first published at *London* in the Year MDCCVI. He himself informs us ^a, that he had the Substance of them wholly, or rather chiefly, from an ancient Manuscript of an anonymous Author, who lived in the very Times of which he wrote. What is now become of that very Manuscript I have not been able to discover. Some have taken the Liberty to affirm, that our Author himself committed it to the Flames: But how unwarrantable and injurious that Alledgeance is, I have been informed by Mr. *Thomas Ruddiman*, who having requested Mr. *Crawford* to lodge the MS. in the Advocates Library, was answered, that it did not belong to him, but to Sir *James Baird* of *Saughtonhall*, to whom he had returned it: Which being signified by Mr. *Ruddiman* to Mr. *Robert Bennet*, the then Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, he applied to Sir *James* himself, for having the Book brought into their Library, but was told, that it was not then in his Possession, for he had lent it to *William Hamilton* of *Wishaw*, out of whose Hands it could never be recovered. However, there is now in the same Library at *Edinburgh*, a written Book of Memoirs of these very Times, and another in the Possession of Bishop *Robert Keith*, that are generally thought to be Copies

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^a Pref. P. 1x.

pies of it ; and as such, are here sometimes cited in the Notes ; tho', because these are only late Transcripts, I have heard the Transcribers Fidelity called in Question by some People, who nevertheless could give no satisfactory Reason for such an Allegation.

Mr. *Crawford* having compared his MS. carefully with Archbishop *Spotiswood's* History, *Melvil's* Memoirs, and *Camden's* Annals of *Q. Elizabeth*, he put the whole of it into a more modern Dress, excepting some singular Papers, which, he tells us, he thought fit to give in their original Stile^b; and for the Reader's better Information, he inserted here and there some material Papers at good Length^a, of which his principal Author had given very short Abridgments, and others that he had quite over-looked, such as *Queen Mary's* Letter to *Q. Elizabeth*, pag. 69. *Murray's* Commission to the Conference at *York*, p. 76. the Protestation made by the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle*, concerning the Murder of *K. Henry*, p. 90. and some others, which he had either copied from the Originals, or from *Spotiswood*, *Melvil*, &c. Thus he rendered the Story not only more agreeable to his Readers, but also more compleat and certain. And truly the History of these Times is given with so much Contrariety and Contradiction among the different Writers, that whoever will publish any thing of that kind, must find it requisite and necessary to support the same by authentick Deeds or Papers ; for these are the only sufficient Vouchers.

But it is not easy to please all Men : For some have found Fault with our Author on this very Account, as they sometimes pretend, tho' the true Ground of their Quarrel is rather because, in his

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^a See P. 107, 229, 251.

^b See p. 79, 81, 84, &c.

Preface, he exposes the Inconsistencies in one of their favourite Authors. But the true Cause, it seems, must not be told, and unable to give another sufficient Reason why they find Fault, they lay Hold on a very frivolous one, which is this : The Bookseller at *London*, according to a Custom which is well known to obtain there, thinking to draw in Customers, had put these Words in the Title-page, *Faithfully published from an authentick MS.* which (altho' in a certain Sense it might have been said) was done plainly contrary to the declared Intention of the Author, if it was meant thereby to represent his Book as a bare Transcript of the old MS. Memoirs ; for he himself acquaints us, ^b " That he has changed both Method and Stile ; that otherwise it would have proved tedious and heavy to the nice Reader, and by many in our neighbouring Nation could hardly have been understood without a Dictionary ; that he compared this his principal Author with *Spotiswood, Melvil, and Camden* ;" from whom also, on proper Occasions, he has supplied what was defective in the other, where, for the most Part, he fails not to cite them on the Margin. He tells us, that in his Preface he writes some Things in his own Defence : What Defences could he have stood in Need of, for barely and servilely publishing another Man's Book above a hundred Years after he was dead ? He acquaints us, *p. 214.* that he always begins the Year with *January*. This is what the Author of his MS. would not have done ; for in his Time, the Year, throughout all *Britain*, commenced with the 25th of *March* : Yea he cites these very Memoirs after the same Manner as he would have done any other Voucher, *p. 280.* which had been very incongruous in a Man who pretended to give a bare Copy of them, and nothing else. Thus

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^b Pref. p. lxii.

he doth Justice both to his Authors and Readers when he frankly acknowledges whence he had the Substance of what he delivers. A Man who writes of Ages past, must be beholden to some one or other for Materials, tho' every Author has not the Candour to acknowledge always whence he gets them; or if he borrows not somewhere, what does he but impose the Fictions of his own Brain upon us for true History? which indeed, I must own, is too frequently done.

By these Means Mr. *Crawfurd* was enabled to render his Performance so compleat, that, as is allowed by all good Judges, there has not hitherto appeared any Account of the Transactions of the four Regents, during that busy Time of the Minority of K. *James VI.* worthy to be compared with it for Variety and Correctness, many Particulars being here narrated which have been wholly overlooked by our common Historians.

Care hath been taken in this Edition to have the Errors amended, which, by reason of the Author's Absence from the Press, had crept into the former Edition at *London*. For that Purpose Application was made to one esteemed more conversant in these Matters, who not only corrected the common Errors in Printing, and especially in proper Names, but also added some few Notes, in which he spares not to shew where Mr. *Cawfurd* himself hath erred thro' Inadvertency.

And because the Author, towards the End of his Book, had only given some Excerpts from a Paper which commonly goes under the Name of *Morton's Confession*; by the same Person's Advice, that Paper is here subjoined at Length, as compleat as it could be found. It is very well known, that some People lay no small Stress upon it, even as published by *Hollinshed's* Continuator, who honestly acknowledges that he has not given it altogether compleat; for which Reason it was thought proper

to give it as compleatly and exactly as it could at present be found, either in Print or Manuscript, that every Man may be enabled to inform himself sufficiently of its *Value*.

Lastly, for the Reader's greater Conveniency, there is an Index added, which hath been hitherto much wanted.

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E R R A T A.

Page 2. Line 17. for *Cliddisdale*, read *Liddisdale*.

Page 277. in the Foot-Note, for *MS.* read *Memoirs*.

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S C O T L A N D, &c.

KING JAMES the VI. was born of *Mary Queen of Scots* and Dowager of *France*, in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the nineteenth of *June* MDLXVI. A Princess whose Beauty was as eminent as her Birth, and one to whom a long Tract of repeated Misfortunes, sufficiently exposed the easy Failings of her Youth, and who, had she lived in an Age less divided and addicted to *Faction*, might in all probability have rival'd the successful Reign of her contemporary and Neighbour, to whose Revenge, or Jealousy, she fell at last a Victim.

As soon as she was in a Condition to go abroad after the Birth of her Son, she began an easy Journey, with a few Attendants to some of the southern Shires, where she intended to hold Justice Courts (then vulgarly known by the Name of Justice Airs) and sent off at the same time, *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell*, to the Province of *Liddisdale*, a Man as yet generally
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esteemed and applauded) to reduce certain insolent Robbers, † who hourly infested the Neighbourhood and disowned all publick Authority. When he arrived, he found a very warm Reception; for instead of throwing down their Arms (as he expected they would have done) they not only despised him, and that Commission with which he was backed, but assaulted him so furiously, that he hardly escaped with Life, being dangerously wounded by *John Elliot of Park*.

The Queen, who could not but value the Earl, as of all Men living the most constant and best affected to her Service, was heartily uneasy for this Misfortune, and apprehending his Danger to be greater than indeed it was, posted with all imaginable Haste to *Hermitage* (a Castle in *Cliddisdale*) where he then lay to be cured of his Wounds. She had not been there above half an Hour, when she began to consider that the House not being impregnable, and the Robbers grown bold with this new † Victory; she run the Hazard of falling into their Hands, and all her Attendants being of the same Opinion, she took Horse immediately, and rode that very Night to *Jedburgh*, where she fell ill of a burning Fever, contracted by the Fatigue of so sudden a Journey, or by the Sharpness of the Night Air, after having been so long confined to her Chamber.

‡ *Mel. Mem. p. 77.*

† *Victory.* This is not a proper Word, for there was no Engagement, but only an Assassination plotted against the *Earle Bothwell*, of which the *Earl of Bedford* wrote to the *English Court* in *August* before.

During the first † two Days of her * Illness, she was extremely out of Order; but upon the third she recovered the Use of her Reason. Yet finding herself very weak, and being apprehensive of Death, she called for all those who waited upon her, and with a serene Countenance, in a feeble Voice, told them she believed a few hours would remove her from this Life to a better. That tho' she had ever been fond enough of Life; yet now she found it nothing hard to resolve upon Death: That she had not spent her Time so well as she ought and might have done, and deserved not that Happiness which she hoped was prepared for her; but that she found certain Comfort in knowing, that as her Creator was infinitely just, he was infinitely merciful too. She thanked God she had so much Time allowed her to repent of her Sins past, and heartily begged for Perseverance and Continuance in that Faith in which she was educated, at the same Time before all those who were present saying, *Credo*, &c. That done, she recommended unto them the spiritual and temporal Advantages of Concord and Unity; but, above all Things, the Protection of her young Son from his domestick Enemies: That he should be early instructed in the Points of Religion, and not suffered to see or be acquainted with People of corrupted Manners, such as might seduce him from that Duty he owed to God or to his People. She forgave all those who had in-

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† Two Days. It should rather be ten Days. See the Appendix to Bp. Keith's History, Page 134.

* Spot. B. 4. P. 196.

jured her, especially such as she had most obliged, particularly condescending upon her Husband, mentioning too those Gentlemen she had banished, and requesting, that, if they returned after her Death, they might at least be barred Access to the young Prince; she earnestly recommended to them to think of granting some Ease to those who professed the *Romish* Faith, since during her Reign she had ever been so indulgent as never to force any Man to the Exercise of Religion to which his Conscience did not freely give Consent. She left to their Care, all her *French* Servants, particularly one *Arnoldus Columbus*. To Monsieur de la Croc, the *French* Ambassador, she said, *Remember me to the King your Master, I hope he will protect my dear Son. Tell him from me, that I desired he would give me one Year's Revenue of my Dowry, after my Death for the Payment of my Debts and Servants Fees. But above all, Sir, tell the Queen Mother, that I heartily and sincerely ask her Forgiveness for all those Offences, which I either did, or was said to have committed against her.*

In the mean time, her Husband King Henry (who was in the *West* Country with his Father, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*) hearing of her Illness, came † with all Expedition to *Jedburgh* by the Way of *Edinburgh*; but notwithstanding of all this Haste, was coldly enough received. Upon which he retired (as suddenly as he came

† *With all Expedition.* So says *George Buchanan*. But Truth he stirred not for many Days after he got Information of the Queen's Sicknes. See *Bp. Keith's Appendix* p. 133 and 135. Nor is there any better Ground for saying he was coldly received by the Queen.

Stirling, where he staid till the Prince was baptized. This was no more than every Body foresaw and expected, who knew what had lately happened between them, which was thus:

The Queen had employed, as her Secretary, (especially in *French Affairs*) one *David Rizio*, *Savoyard*; a Man ignobly born, of a piercing Wit, diligent and honest; but who, to balance his good Qualities, was notoriously proud and haughty, at once despising his most powerful Enemies, and undervaluing the Assistance of his most constant Friends; as if he had scorned to owe his Greatness to any Thing but the Favour of his Princess, and the Merit of his own Conduct. There was at the same Time, her Secretary, *William Maisland of Lethington*; a Man of great Parts, well versed in all the Intrigues of the Court, and the Inclinations of the common People; singularly cunning, bold, and eloquent, but prone to Changes, and so fond of being great, or of appearing considerable in a Party, or Cabal, that no Ties of Honour, or Friendship, could bind him to the Interest of his Sovereign, or his Country. He had in vain endeavoured to render *David* suspected to the Queen, who rarely became diffident of those she once trusted; and therefore joined himself underhand with a discontented factious Party, of which *Murray* and *Morton* were the Heads, who, either as secret Pensioners of *England*, or for By-ends of their own, had constantly opposed all her Measures. From these, however, he craftily conceals the secret Malice that had engaged him in their Quarrel, and only proposed the Ruin of his Adversary as a Benefit to them.

The Earl of *Murray*, the Queen's base Brother and some others of the Nobility, † were at this Time Exiles in *England* for Rebellion, and not unfavourably used by Queen *Elizabeth*; a Parliament was summoned, where they were charged to answer for the Crime of High-treason, and would undoubtedly have been forfeited, and denounced Traitors: It was feared too, by *Morton* and others, that this Meeting of the Estates intended to recal some exorbitant Grants of which they stood possessed; having obtained them during the Queen's Minority. In both these Affairs, *Rizio* was very active for the Interest of the Crown, and the Safety of the Queen, by prosecuting the Rebels. This impending Danger kept their Favourites very uneasy at Home, and put them to their Shifts, how at once to put a Stop to the Meeting of the Parliament, and make a Change at Court. *Lethington* soon gave them Ease, by proposing the Destruction of *David*, who managed the Process with some Heat, and was likely to be chosen Chancellor, * (Speaker or President) in *Morton's* Stead. The Hint was well received, and the only remaining Difficulty was, how to cut him off, and secure themselves from the Risque of that Punishment the Law inflicts upon Murderers. But for this, *Morton*, *Lethington*, *Lenox*, (the King's Father) and *Ruthven* easily find a *Salvo* a Remedy that had two Handles, and served at once to remove their Enemy, and ruin the Queen.

They

† *Camb. B. 1. p. 91. Buch. B. 17. p. 180, & 181. Spott. B. 4. p. 194. Mel. p. 64.*

* It is not credible that there was any Design to make a Man Chancellor who neither knew the Customs nor Language of the Country.

They send for the young King, (who indeed was naturally weak, irresolute, and credulous) and there, after a long smooth Preamble, of Affection for his Person, and Sincerity for his Interest, inform him, that he was of late become a Cipher at Court, despised by his Wife, and neglected by the People; and all this, by the Artifices and Treachery of *Rizio*, who first procured the Banishment of his Friends, and now prosecuted them: That the only Way to retrieve and secure his Honour, was to remove that encroaching Villain, without which, nothing was to be done. The easy Prince (his Father being one of the Advisers) was soon prevailed upon; and that all Things might be safe on their Side, Articles were immediately drawn up, to which they perswaded him readily to put his Hand, and confess himself the Author of the Murder. Having thus far gained their Point, to make a double Advantage of the Crime, (tho' they could have killed him in any other Place) the Queen's Closet was pitched upon as the fittest Scene; first to conceal the true Cause and real Design of his Death; and secondly, to fasten a Reproach upon the Queen's Honour, by having made her Husband the prime Agent in the Execution of the Affair, as if he had suspected her Virtue, and had engaged in the Business on that Score alone. And indeed, to prepare the Way for this Part of the Plot, it was whispered about in every Corner, that *David* was more than a common Favourite. But these were not all the Advantages proposed by the Method of the Murder, and the Choice of the Place; for the Queen being then near six Months gone with Child, Abortion was

was expected, as a Consequence of that Fright the Murder would put her into; they had a good Venture too for the Death of the Queen, which might have proved the Result of a Miscarriage, *and by this Means would have been freed from a Sovereign, as they had been for many Years before; her Father King *James V.* having left her but a very few Days old at his Decease. One Thing however, tho' all these should fail, (besides the Safety of their Friends) they were assured of, and that was, by this severe Injury and Affront upon the Queen, they would alienate her Heart from her Husband, and her Subjects Hearts from her. All Things being thus prepared, and the Parliament being to meet on *Monday* the 11th of *March* 1566, *Saturday* Night was agreed upon as the fittest Time for the Execution of the hellish Project. The King went before into the Queen's Closet, † who was at Supper and the Countess of *Argyle* with her, *Rizio* being at the By-table in the same Room, where he usually sat when he was in waiting, and in a few Minutes thereafter, about six o'Clock at Night, *Ruthven*, *Douglas*, and others, compleatly armed, rushed in at the same Door, with so much Haste and Precipitation, that they overturned at once the Table, Dishes and Candlesticks. The Queen surprized to see Men in Armour, suddenly cried out, *What is the Matter!* And the King answered, *Only the Death of the Villain Rizio is resolved upon.* The unfortunate Secretary in the mean time, seeing no Possibility of escaping, fastened his

his Arms about the Queen's Waist, in Hopes they would pay some Respect to the Person of their Sovereign, and have listened to her Tears and Entreaties in his behalf, he himself in the mean Time begging aloud for Mercy. But all was in vain; for in this very Posture, *Douglas* snatched out the King's Dagger, and struck it so home into him, that he was forced to leave it sticking in his Body. This Blow made him redouble his Cries; but for want of Strength having let-go his Hold of the Queen, they dragged him into the next Room, and there with many Wounds finished a Death they had so barbarously begun. *Morton* and his Followers guarded the Palace below Stairs, but not so strictly as to keep *Athole*, *Bothwell* and *Huntly* from leaping over the Window; for being ignorant of the Plot, they could not tell how many, or who was to be murdered *. The Queen herself was strictly guarded, no Man suffered to come into, or go out of the Palace; and the Citizens not knowing how Matters stood, took Arms for her Relief. But the King showing himself to them out of a Window, desired them to march Home again, and assured them what was done, was by his own Command. This Action of his, and this Speech made Way for the Belief of those false Reports the Murderers had industriously contrived to ruin her Honour, left behind it such Scars in the Queen's Heart, as all his Services could never wipe away, and proved the certain Cause of all those Ills which befel the Royal Pair and the distracted Nation. By the bye, much about
this

* *Mel. ibid.*

this Time, Mr. *William Ker* Abbot of *Kelso*,
† was murdered by his own Son-in-Law—
Ker of Cessford.

In the Month of *December*, the Prince was baptized in the Castle of *Stirling*, after the Manner of the Church of *Rome*, by *John* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. The Font was of Gold, a Compliment from *Elizabeth* Queen of England, and weighed about 333 Ounces. The Assistants, or Godfathers, were the King of *France*, by Monsieur *le Croc*, the Queen of *England*, by the Earl of *Bedford*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, by the Count of *Brianc*. His Name (*James Charles*) was thrice proclaimed by the Heralds by Sound of Trumpet. The remaining Part of that Day was spent in Justing, and Half of the succeeding Night in other Divertisements. There was nothing wanting to compleat the universal Joy, but the Presence of the King, who, tho' he was in *Stirling*, was so far from appearing in Publick upon this solemn Occasion, (having perhaps stomached his late Reception from the Queen * at *Jedburgh*) that he went off privately to *Glasgow*, where he was suddenly seized with a dangerous Illness, which was generally reported the Effect of Poison. The Queen was no sooner informed of his Danger than she hastened after him, and notwithstanding her Resentment of the past Injury, was extremely moved to find him in so bad a Condition, and waited very carefully upon him for the Space of ten Days, till the Strength of his Nature overcoming the

† It appears by an Act of Privy Council, that *William Ker* Commendatar of *Kelso* was alive the 16th of July 1566.

† See the Remark upon Page 4.

When of his Disease, he was able to abandon that Place, and travel (tho' slowly) to *Edinburgh*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, where he might be better attended, and have the Convenience of being served by the best Physicians.

When he came thither, (being not perfectly recovered) he was lodged in the *Kirk-of-Feild* in the Suburbs, where the Air was good, either to avoid the Noise of the Court, or to discountenance those who had used him as the Tool of their Ambition and Revenge in the Murder of the Secretary; or perhaps by the cunning Contrivance of those, who designed his Death, which soon after followed: For upon the ninth of February, the House in which he lay was blown up by Gun-powder, and his Body found at a considerable Distance from the Ruins. The whole City was startled with the Crack, which was in the Night Time, but more with the News of the King's Death, whilst the Manner of it was no less variously censured than reported. Some thought it merely accidental, others, (and they of the first Rank in the Nation) firmly believed *Murray* and *Morton* the Authors. Many accused *Bothwell*, as one who had of late shown more than the common Affection of a Subject for the Queen's Interest, and who, by removing *Henry*, made Way for himself: But the most prevailing opinion was, that the Queen herself, resenting too deeply the Murder of her Servant, and her injured Reputation, had an Hand in the Matter; and that by her Contrivance, or, at least, Connivance, the King and his Servant had been first strangled as they lay asleep and a Bed,

and

and their Bodies carried to that Place where they were found after the House was blown up. This Story, tho' of all the rest the least likely to be true, was carefully and industriously spread abroad, and maintained under Hand by *Murray* and others, her secret Enemies, and Authors of the Fact; her preceeding Coldness to the King, and her constant Friendship for *Bothwell* favouring their Endeavours to defame her. Few were at the Pains to examine the Matter narrowly, or to object that the *Queen*, who had been often pressed by the Council to consent to a Divorce, lay under no Necessity of pursuing such a violent Method, attended with so much Sin and Danger, even tho' she had truly hated her Husband. It was not considered that it had been easier to have done it at *Stirling* or *Glasgow* or in any Place less populous than *Edinburgh* than that it was not consistent with common Prudence, to have strangled him first, since the Force, which threw Stones ten Feet long and four Feet in Breadth, a vast Way into the adjacent Gardens, was enough to have dispatched him; or that she was not so weak as not to have feigned at least a more perfect Agreement with the King, to render herself less suspected: I say, no Man was at the Pains to consider these Things, or to remember that she was naturally mild and religious; but as if a general Tendency to promote her Ruin had seized all Mankind, this bare faced Story, true or false, was swallowed down untouched. It was talked too, that *Bothwell*, her Agent in this Affair, was seen hard by the Corpse of this unfortunate Prince; but it was neither then, nor afterwards, mentioned by

who

whom he was so seen, nor urged by his prevailing Enemies against him in his adverse Fortune, as a relative Circumstance to enforce the Guilt. The King's private Interment a few Days after his Death, her Majesty's Journey to *Seton*, in a short Time after the Burial, (tho' that Place was more agreeable to a melancholy Humour) her Marriage afterwards with *Bothwel*, (tho' advised to it by most of the Nobility of the Kingdom) were all made Use of by her Enemies, as Circumstances that proved the supposititious Crime, and were no small Helps to the Credit of that Scandal they had thrown upon her: And indeed from these false and seditious Aspersions, which were not whispered in Corners, most People could foresee the impending Storm of a Civil War; the only Way to ruin the Queen's Authority, being first to attack her Reputation.

King *Henry* was one of the handsomest Men of that Age, tall, and extremely well shaped; he had very fine Hair, and a winning Grace in most of his Actions; accounted a most dexterous Horseman, and the best skilled in warlike Exercises of any in his Time; but withal, was so very easily gained upon, that there was no Difficulty to persuade him to the Belief of the hardest Things; nor could the invincible Ties of Honour and Interest, oblige him to conceal even Secrets of the greatest Importance.

Bothwel having for some Time slighted the common Opinion of the Populace concerning him, in Hopes it would die away, or be worn out by Length of Time, found himself at last under a Necessity of taking particular Notice of

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what at once struck thus at his Life and Honour. It had been hitherto only whispered about as a Secret that every Body knew, but it was now openly thundered from the Pulpit by some of the factious Clergy, that he was undoubtedly the Regicide, and the Matter so plain and clear, that it was impossible for him to justify himself, even before the most partial Judge. To remove therefore so powerful an Handle from his Enemies, and to obviate all Objections against him, upon the ——— Day of *March* 1567, he willingly surrendered himself a Prisoner, and desired he might be brought to a publick Trial. The 28th of the same Month was appointed for that Effect; but then thinking that too sudden, and wisely foreseeing, that it might be objected by his Enemies, that in so short a Time, they could not muster all their Evidences, he easily prevailed with the Lord *Justice General*, to prorogue † the Court to the 12th of *April* following.

When that came, the Earl of *Lenox* made what Haste he could to *Edinburgh*, in order to accuse him, and approached the City with a numerous Attendance compleatly armed. The Queen sent him Word either to dismiss or disarm some Part of his Followers; but he thought fit to obey neither. The Trial nevertheless went on, and *Bothwel* was unanimously acquitted * by a very honourable Jury, of all Suspicion as well as Action of Murder, not so much as one probable Circumstance being adduced against

† To prorogue the Court. There was no Prorogation, the 12th of *April* was the only Day appointed.

* *Camb. B. 1. p. 94. Spot. B. 4. p. 201.*

gainst him. The Jury consisted of the Persons following:

Gilbert E. of Cassils.	Jo. Lord Harries	Lochinvar.
George E. of Caithness.	Ja. Lord Ross.	Barnebougal.
Andrew E. of Rothes.	Ro. Lord Sempill.	Boyne.
John Lord Hamilton.	Ro. Lord Boyd.	Langtoun.
Laurence L. Oliphant.	Jo. Master of Forbes.	Cambusnethan.

The Parliament met at *Edinburgh* some time after, where he was likewise acquitted; and carried the royal Scepter to the House. He began nevertheless to be hated by the common People, who hang not so much Faith upon a whole Parliament, as upon one Clergy-man. And these having once preached him guilty, no Jury or Senate could again wash him clean. *Lennox*, however, seeing his mortal Enemy thus honoured and acquitted, and finding no Hopes of gaining Ground, either in the *Government*, or in the Favour of the Queen, suddenly withdrew into *England* by the Western Sea, where he remained in a private Condition, till he was called Home by some of the Nobility to embark with them, and be shipwreck'd in these Storms which almost sunk the Nation. *Bothwell* having now (as he thought) defeated the dark Contrivances of his Enemies, began openly to think of his Marriage with the *Queen*, which they before had cunningly put him upon; and indeed his Design was so far favoured by the Nobility, that many of them not only pressed her to it by Words, † but all of them unanimously

† *Spot. B. 4. p. 202. Camb. B. 1. p. 94. Buch. B. 18. p. 196.*

mously subscribed a Kind of Address, in which they forgot not to extol his Merits, and lay before her those Advantages which would infallibly redound to herself and her People, by a Choice so very reasonable and necessary. This Remonstrance or Advice, 'tis certain, confirmed and increased that good Opinion the Queen had already conceived of him for his past Services to her Mother, and constant Loyalty to herself; but having been twice unfortunately married (for she lost her first Husband very young) she resolved to make no great Haste in venturing a third Time; and knowing how useful his Services might be to support a Throne like hers, environed with Cabals, and surrounded with Faction, wisely endeavoured to keep him rather afraid of losing her Esteem, than assured of gaining her Consent. This Method, however, proved not so successful as it was reasonable for the Earl blinded with Ambition and Love (Passions rarely found asunder) having a *Queen* and *Sovereignty* in View, too hastily forgot that bad Opinion the common People had conceived of him, and that he was the Object of the Clergy's Hatred. He throws away all that blind Submission he had hitherto professed, damns every short Delay, and backed with the subscribed Consent of the Nobles, resolved to be at all or nothing. Having therefore secretly mustered no less than 800 † Horsemen, all well

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† 800 Horsemen. Murray's Act of Attainder against the Earl Bothville, says, a Thousand Horse.

accoutred, he marched to † *Almond-bridge*; and there, without any Manner of Resistance, suddenly surprized the unwary Queen, as she was coming, but slightly guarded, from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, and conveyed her, * with the Earl of *Huntly* and *Lethington*, then in Company with her, Prisoners to the Castle of *Dunbar*.

All Men were surprized with the Rumour of this bold Attempt; and, as it always happens in such Cases, expounded it as they stood affected for the Parties concerned: Her Enemies failed not to give out, that it was with her own Consent; whilst others believed the Earl was now upon the same Bottom with the factious Lords, and that, to remove so potent an Adversary, they had unanimously consented, that the *Queen* being laid aside, he should be constituted Regent, during the long Minority of her Son; and that by this Bait of *Top Preferment* they had hooked him into their Party. But this and all other Conjectures soon gave Way to that one which was first suggested; especially when a Process at the Earl's † Instance was commenced for a Divorce from his Wife, Lady *Jean Gordon*, Sister to the Earl of *Huntly*. The Case came under the Cognizance of two Courts; in the first sate, by Commission from the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Robert Bishop of *Dunkeld*,

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† *Almond Bridge*. By the same Act it appears, that this was done by Surprize at the *Foulbriggs* in the very Suburbs of *Edinburgh*.

* Mel. p. 80.

† *Earl's Instance*. Rather at his Wife's Instance; even *George Buchanan* says so.

William Bishop of Dumblane, Mr. Archibald Crawfurd Parson of Eglisbam, Mr. John Manderston, Canon of the College Church of Dunbar, Mr. Alexander Creighton, and Mr. George Cook, Canons of the Church of Dunkeld. * In the other, the Judges were Mr. Robert Maitland, Mr. Edward Henryson, Mr. Alexander Sim, and Mr. Clement Little. The Business was soon decided, for in ten Days Time, Morton, Murray, and the rest of that Faction, having secretly used their Interest to have it dispatched, Sentence was pronounced in both Courts, the one having proceeded upon the Grounds of *Consanguinity*, and the other upon the Score of *Adultery*.

This hasty Management made it very obvious for what End the *Queen* had been seized, and afresh rouzed not only the common Story, that the Earl had murdered the King, but brought this unfortunate Princess likewise under the same Censure. For being thus kept close from her few Friends, of whom she was not allowed the Liberty of asking Advice in a Matter of so great Importance, relying on the Earl's Power and Conduct, and remembring his past Services and constant Affection for her Interest, not forgetting too that she was in his Hands, and that no Body, during her ten Days Imprisonment, had attempted her Relief; but above all being encouraged by that Forwardness her Brother *Murray*, whom she ever trusted, had expressed for the Match, and the Address of the Nobles already mentioned, she shut her Eyes against all future Events and Hazards, and blindly threw

* *Spot. B. 4. p. 202.*

herself into his Arms: By this one Action, the most unfortunate of her Life, at once strengthening her Enemies, increasing the Aversion of the common People, and sealing her own inevitable Ruin.

Bothwel having thus far gained his Point, by having obtained her Consent; to remove the Objection of Force or Restraint, lest it should afterwards urged to invalidate the Marriage, if she should chance to perceive her Error, dismissed some Part of his Followers, and brought her with a very small Guard to *Edinburgh*. This shew of Liberty advanced his own Security another Way, for no Body then believed it needful to endeavour her Rescue; and thus he marched, till he came to a narrow Pass as he entered the City, where fearing to be surprized by the Inhabitants, he suddenly took hold of her Horse's Bridle, and carried her to the Castle, of which Sir *James Balfour*, a Creature of his own, was then Governor. All the well-meaning Men of the Nation were sorry to see this good Queen, who had been so well beloved, thus ensnared, and about to be wedded to one, who would involve her in his own Ruin, and make her equally a Partner in his Faults and Fortunes: Nor were her Enemies less glad, to find that by these miserable Mistakes, (the Effects of their repeated Advices,) she advanced their Designs, and hastened her own Destruction as fast as they wished it; for in three Days after her Arrival at *Edinburgh*, *Bothwel*, with great Ceremony, was created Duke of *Orkney*, and *Zetland*, and the fifteenth of *May*, they were solemnly married, by *Adam* Bishop of *Orkney*.

It was observed that the same Night, as an early Specimen of what was to ensue, some Body or other chalked upon the Palace Gate,

Mense malas Majo nubere vulgus ait.

Those of the Nobility, who were Enemies to the Queen, as they had privately condemned all her Actions, so they publickly disapproved of this one: And even these who had set their Hands and Seals to the Marriage, railed at it now as unconscionably, as if they had solemnly at first protested against it. Amongst these were the Earls of *Morton*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Mar*, *Glencairn*, the Lords *Lindsay*, and *Boyd*; who met speedily at *Stirling*, and subscribed a Bond or *Association* for Defence of the young Prince, who, as they pretended, was in Danger of being murdered by his Mother and Father-in-Law. The Queen could not miss to expound this as it was meant, and being willing early to suppress this growing Rebellion, and to know her Friends from her Foes, proposed a counter Association, for the Defence of her Person and Dignity, together with the Safety and Security of her Husband. This was freely signed by all those to whom it was offered, the Earl of *Murray* † excepted, who easily foreseeing from so early Beginnings * Part of what would follow,

‡ *Spot. B. 4. p. 204. Camb. B. 1. p. 94.*

† *Murray excepted.* Our Author has in this been misled by *Murray* himself, who boldly affirms the same, though he was in *France* at that Time. See *James Anderson's Collections*, vol 2d p. 10. and vol. 4. Part 2d Page 195.

* *Spot. ibid.*

and presuming on his Birth, resolved not to
 give so plain a Proof of his Treachery laid in
 as *Disb* afterwards. The *Queen*, however, re-
 nted not this Piece of ill Nature and Disloyalty,
 and was so far from suspecting his Honesty, or
 affection for her Interest, that she looked upon
 him as her most faithful Friend.

He in the mean time began to consider, that
 having first thrown the Scandal of the King's
 Murder upon *Bothwel* and the *Queen*, and now
 when them married together, the Credit of the
 Dispersion by that Means infallibly supported,
 the People's Hearts generally alienated, the Cler-
 gy dissatisfied, and jealous, and all Things tend-
 ing to a Rupture; nay, the *Revolution* he aim-
 ed at, fairly begun, by his Friends associating
 at *Stirling*, * it was now high Time to think of a
 retreat. Besides it was impossible for him to
 stay any longer, and not declare himself to all
 the World, (having hitherto acted in Disguise)
 either for the *Queen*, or the *Associators*. He
 therefore tells her Majesty, that her Affairs at
 present not requiring his Presence or Advice,
 and all Things being calm and easy at Home,
 he should look upon it as a Reward of his past
 Services, to be allowed the Liberty of going
 abroad for some Years. He obtained her Con-
 sent, tho' with some Difficulty, as a Friend
 with whom she was loth to part; and that he
 might seem wholly innocent of those Ills him-
 self had brewed, and be secure too in case *Mischief*
 should miscarry, he posted immediately into
 England, and from thence into France, where,
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* *Camb. ibid.*

by frequent Letters secretly conveyed to Scotland, he instructed his faithful Friend Morton who needed not a Master, how to blow up into a Flame that Fire they had kindled between them.

The Fears of the Court still increasing, the Bishop of *Dunblane* was sent into *France* by the Queen, to acquaint that Monarch and her Kindred men of the House of *Guise* with the State of Affairs, and the Manner and Reasons of her Marriage: She likewise made Choice of new Counsellors, such as the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Earls of *Crawfurd*, *Arrol*, *Cassils*, *Morton*, *Roths*, *Athole*, *Marishal*, *Argyle*, *Caithness* and *Huntly*. The Bishop of *Galloway*, the Bishop of *Ross*, with the Lords *Oliphant*, *Boyd* and *Harries*. The greatest Part of the *Associators* being thus made Members of her Council, she expected by this Means to have removed their Discontents, and by showing she could trust them, hoped to have made them her Friends. But *Argyle* and *Boyd* alone broke off from the rest, and returned to their Duty. To take away from those, as far as possible, the least Shadow of Excuse, being always fond of gentle Methods, she put out a Proclamation, declaring all Writs obtained from her, allowing Papists the Exercise of their Religion, to be henceforth void and of no Effect, she being firmly resolved not to encroach upon that Authority made when she came from *France*, and often since renewed in Favour of the established Religion. Some of the Borderers growing in the mean time very unruly, and committing daily Depredations upon the Neighbourhood, lest she

should be taxed with Neglect of the Commonwealth, a new Proclamation was published immediately after the other, ordering, as it is the Custom in such Cases, the Subjects to accompany her thither, armed, and with fifteen days Provision. This Design, tho' both good and reasonable, was wilfully misconstrued by the malicious Lords, who pretended this Rendezvous was designed for another Expedition, and that these Forces were only to be employed against the Earl of *Mar*, and those who kept her Son out of her Hands. The Queen, tho' heartily grieved for being thus misrepresented to the common People, who are always ready to believe enough of those in Authority, and finding they intended to make the same Use of her Son, as they had done of her Grandfather, (that is, to rebel under the Pretence of Loyalty, and fight against what they pretend to preserve) dissipated her Cares, and not only gave over the intended Expedition, but emitted a third Proclamation, or rather Declaration, assuring her People of her good Inclinations towards them, and that she never designed to alter any of their Laws, nor to act in any Thing of publick Concern, without the Advice of her Council. As for her Son, she had trusted him in the hands of a good Governor; and her motherly affection and Care for his Safety and good Education should appear manifest to all the World; and so retired to the Castle of *Borthwick* with her accustomed Retinue.

All Rebellions begin under the Shadow of mighty Grievances, either in the Church or civil Government, or in both: The Contrivers put

put on a Clock of Reformation, to conceal the Treason, and in this Disguise are generally taken by the Rabble for Patriots: But all the Grievances, whether feigned or real, being once removed, new ones are found, which before had not a Being; their Demands still increase and the Number of Favours granted, doth only put their Invention upon the Rack how to ask for more, till having gone so far that it is impossible to retreat with Safety, they are forced, for their own Security, to overturn that Power they only meant to humble. The Truth of this Reflexion will appear evidently from what follows: For the *Stirling Associators* seeing the injured Queen secure, and but slightly guarded and still fearing she might gather together a considerable Number of Men; who, headed by *Bothwell*, might take from them all Opportunities of capitulating for the future, resolved therefore to push on what they had so effectually begun; and being joined by those, who were either out of Favour, or had not been preferred without Merit, with all the Secrecy and Speed imaginable, muster what Force they could, in Hopes to surprize her and her Household, who, as I have said, were retired to the Castle of *Borthwick*; and indeed the Attempt had almost proved successful, for the Queen was glad to make her Escape in Man's Apparel (the Duke of *Orkney* having got out before) and shelter herself from this sudden Storm, in the Castle of *Dunbar*, where she might be safe from the Case of a second Assault, till her Friends and loyal Subjects came to her Assistance.

The Rebels thus unexpectedly disappointed

of their royal Prey, retire to *Edinburgh*, there attending to fortify themselves: That Place was very fit for their Purpose; for having the Clergy of the City on their Side, they were assured of most of their Hearers. Nothing was reached but Rebellion and Revenge: *Henry's* Murder was the common Theme, and the *Associators* having made that the Pretence of this unnatural War, it was hourly inculcated into the Ears of the implicitly devout Rabble, that the *Queen* had acted in Concert with the Duke of *Orkney*, to make Way for the *Marriage* now consummated between them; but that which yet made this City the fittest Place for their Abode, was a secret Treaty already on foot between them and *Balfour*, for a Surrender of the Castle, which was of very great Importance, and without which they could hardly promise to themselves Success.

In the mean time a great many honest Men resorting to *Dunbar* for the Defence of their Queen, the Rebels fell seriously to Work, to make Amends for their late Disappointment, and to secure themselves from that Punishment they knew already due to their Crimes. They begin therefore with a Kind of a *Manifesto*, where, after a necessary Preamble of imaginary and sham Grievances, they narrate at full Length the Murder of the King; and declare, that having nothing before their Eyes but the Good of their Country, and the Honour of their Queen, and to remove from the *Scottish* Name the Reproach of Parricides, they had betaken themselves to Arms, to bring the Regicide *Bothwell* to a fair Trial, who had laid violent Hands up-

on his Sovereign's Person, forced her, when in his Power, to consent to an unlawful Marriage and now designed to destroy the young Prince to secure the Throne to his own Children, lest he should, when at Age, call him to an Account for the Murder of his Father: **For these Ends**, and to procure to themselves, the Nation and their Posterity, such Laws and Conditions as should appear indispensably necessary for the Safety of the Subject, and the Establishment and Security of the Protestant Religion they charged all and sundry the Lieges to be in Readiness upon the short Advertisement of three Hours, and all such as would not join with them in so good and reasonable an Undertaking to depart from the City in four Hours after the publishing of the said *Manifesto* or *Proclamation*. This was upon the 12th of *June*, being *Friday*, read at the Market Cross of the City, the People being always called together with Sound of Trumpet.

These plausible Pretences of Loyalty and Religion, wrought their accustomed Effects upon the unthinking Mob. The *Associators* were already huzza'd as they walked the Streets, for Patriots and Protectors of their Liberties, manifestly endangered, tho' they knew not how from Court Artifices and *French* Influence, and in less than two Days Time found themselves able to cope with their Sovereign, and in Condition to oppose by Force what Troops or her Friends could muster in her Defence, for Support of the tottering Monarchy. The Ring-leaders in this Rebellion, (all of them *Monarch*'s faithful Friends) were *James* Earl of *Mar*

the Earls of Mar and Glencairn, Secretary
Lethington, the Lords Sempill, Sanquhar, and
indsay, with the Barons of Drumlanrig, Tul-
cardin, and Grange: However 'tis certain they
were not their Success entirely to their Number;
if either the City of *Edinburgh*, or the Castle
opposed them, it would have proved impos-
sible for them to have mustered any considerable
body of Men, at least so very soon; but as I
have already said, the Inhabitants were general-
ly debauched from their Allegiance by their
teachers; of which the zealous Mr. *Knox*, was
the most eminent, and the Governor was alrea-
dy thinking of a Surrender. *Athole*, 'tis true,
abandoned the Party, and returned to his Duty;
but *Lethington* managed the Matter so well, that
in twenty-four Hours, he brought him back again
to his first Resolutions.

The Queen, who from so successful Begin-
nings, began to be justly afraid that in Time
this Infection might spread too far to be rooted
out, thought it expedient to take the Field as
soon as possible, lest their growing Numbers
should discourage her Friends, and rashly, (tho'
without the Advice and Consent of those a-
round her) with a very small Company, much
inferior to that of the Enemy, abandoned the
Castle of *Dunbar*, and came forward that Night
to *Seton*, and next Morning to *Carberry-hill*.
Here at the Head of the little Army, a Procla-
mation was read, narrating, *That the Rebels*
in vain endeavoured to seize her Maje-
sty's Person at Borthwick Castle, they had reti-
red to Edinburgh, and there published a most se-
dicious Paper, pretending that they meant no

more than the Revenging of her late Husband's Murder, and to relieve her out of the Hands of the Duke of Orkney, to whom she was now married, and whom they unjustly affirmed, to be the Author of the said heinous Crime, and one that intended to commit the like upon the Person of her Son. Whereas their Intention could be no other than by making a Buckler of the Royal Infant, they might with some Shew of Loyalty, wage War against their Queen; that having dethroned her, they might rule the Nation at their Pleasure. That this was true, appeared plainly, by her present Husband the Duke's Innocence, who had submitted willingly to a fair Trial, and was acquitted both by the Judge and Jury, and the Meeting of the Estates; and as for that Captivity from which they pretended to relieve her, the World knew her Marriage was contracted and solemnized publickly, and with their special Consents under their Hands and Seals, yet remaining as a Testimony against them; having therefore out of Necessity, not Choice, taken Arms for her own Defence, she doubted not the Assistance of her good Subjects, and the Courage of those who were present, promising to each of them who killed an Earl in the Field a forty Pound Land, and for the Head of a Lord twenty.

The Associates in the mean time being advertised of her March from Dunbar, and that she was advanced as far as Carberry-hill, had mustered their Troops, and upon Sunday the 1st of June abandon Edinburgh in very good order, with the Advantage of the Sun upon their Backs, the Weather being at that Time ex-

ively hot: As soon as they came in View of the Queen's Army, *Monsieur le Croc* the French Ambassador, came to meet them, and being fond of bringing Matters to an Accommodation, assured them the Queen was preaceably inclined, and disposed both to forget the present Insurrection, and all past Offences. *Morton*, who was their chief Leader and accessory to that Murder he pretended to revenge, answered with a very haughty Air, *that not having taken Arms against the Queen, but the Murderer of the King, no Peace could be made unless he delivered him into their Hands, to be punished according to his Merit* †. *Le Croc* nevertheless persisted, for some Time, in his Endeavours, but the Earl at last insolently telling him, *that † they had come to the Field not to ask Pardon for any Offence they had committed, but to give Pardon to those who offended them*, he gave over all Hopes of prevailing upon their Obstinacy, and retired to *Edinburgh*. In the mean time, their Army being much superior to the Queen's, followed by many of the Citizens, and supported with good Store of Wine, Ale, and other Liquors, which they had brought along with them, stood firm to their Ground, and resolute not to lose so fair an Opportunity of conquering; whilst on the other Hand her Majesty's Forces being fewer in Number, overcome with the Heat, and having nothing to quench their Thirst, shrunk away by Degrees, till there remained not above Half of those who came into the Field. The unfortunate Princess now too

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† *Spet. B. 4. p. 207.*

late perceived the Danger of being over forward in Affairs of Moment; yet in this Extremity being more concerned for her Husband's Safety than her own, because she saw the Rebels irreconcilably bent to destroy him, begged he would retire again to *Dunbar*, there to wait a more prosperous Fortune. When he was gone, * she sent for the Laird of *Grange*, one of the most considerable Gentlemen amongst the Conspirators, and in a very calm Manner, bid him remember, ' That there were Punishments in another World inflicted upon the rebellious in this; that all indifferent Men would look upon the Revenge of King *Henry's* Murder as a very bare-faced Pretence, since they themselves had not only voted him innocent, but pressed her to marry him, and if now by Force they sought to disannul that, it was unjust before God, and unreasonable before Man; that she knew they aimed at nothing but her Ruin, that during the long Minority of her Son, they might be absolute Masters of all Things; but that Heaven could never smile upon an unjust Cause, and that tho' now she was too weak to resist, yet she had some constant Friends at home and abroad who would resent their Treachery; that nothing could ensue from Rebellions but constant Wars and Tumults, he himself having as good a Title to govern as the rest; that for her Part, as she had ever been indulgent to her People, she still resolved to continue in the same Mind, and would not only entirely forget what had

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* Not so, for he departed at *Grange's* Desire. See *Anderson's Collect.* vol. 4. p. 83.

past, but consent to the enacting of such Laws as might secure the established Religion to them and their Heirs, from all just Apprehensions of Danger, not only from Papists, but even from Popish Influence, by discharging for the future, from her Service, all such as were of the *Romish* Faith.

Grange, who very well understood his Cue upon all Occasions, and what to speak, as well as when, replied, *That no Man could bear a greater Affection than himself, for her Royal Person and Government; that all those Lords with whom he was engaged, and whose Measures he had espoused, as in his Opinion truly consonant to the strictest Rules of Duty, were her Majesty's most faithful and most loyal Subjects, and had only taken up Arms for her Safety and Service; that she was now in the Hands of her most dangerous Enemies, Men of flagitious Lives, whose very Breath infected her Reputation, and whose Advices had ruined her Authority, by putting her upon such Acts as were merely despotick, and had alienated the Affections of the common People, who dreaded nothing more than Popery and arbitrary Sway; that the Duke of Orknay, if guilty, was unfit for the Honour of her Majesty's Bed; and if innocent, he might with Safety enough submit himself to a new Trial, and by that Means for ever remove the Scandal which was but shrewdly covered by a Judge reputed bribed, a Parliament over-awed, and a Jury believed packed for the Purpose; that he could answer not only for himself, but for all those in Arms, that nothing was designed but the Establishment of the Government.*

vernment, on that Foot dimitted to them by their Ancestors, and the Satisfaction of the common People; who now being jealous of her good Intentions towards them, seemed universally prone to a Change, to prevent which, they would stand by her with their Lives and Fortunes. The easy Queen having now no Friends about her, desirous of Peace, and relying upon her Innocence, no longer looking upon the Conspirators as Enemies, and hoping to be generously used, willingly forsook her Followers, and went along with Grange, who joyfully returned with the Royal Prisoner to his successful Friends. As soon as she came to the Front of the Army, where she was received by the principal Officers and Men of Note, she made them this short, but memorable Compliment, * *I am come to you, my Lords, but not out of any Fear I had of my Life, nor despairing of Victory, if Matters had gone to the utmost; but because I abhor the shedding of Christian Blood, especially that of my own Subjects; 'tis for that Reason I freely yield unto you, and will be hereafter ruled by your Counsels, trusting you will use me as a Princess, and one that was born your Queen.* About seven o'Clock that Night they brought her to Edinburgh, where, instead of allowing her the Use of her own Palace, they shut her up in the Mayor or Provost's House, which fronted the High Street; and as she entered the City, covered with Tears and Dust, and in a Garb equally below her Birth and Merit, not only insulted over her themselves, crying, * *Burn the Whore; Burn the Parricide;* but suffered and animated

* Spot. ibid. * Buch. B. 81. p. 210.

ted the very Mob to revile and affront her. All this she bore and suffered with that Patience, and Fortitude of Mind, becoming a Christian and a Queen, her only Language being in Tears: But next Morning when she opened her Windows, and beheld below not only strong Guards placed before the Entry to the House, - but their Banner displayed and fixed in the Street, on which was painted her dead Husband K. Henry lying beneath the Shade of a Tree, with the young Prince by his Side, and the *Motto* *,

Judge and revenge my Cause, O Lord.

she burst out into Tears and loud Complaints against the Treachery and Malice of her Enemies; begging of all the People who gazed upon her, to take her miserable Life to satisfy their Cruelty and Hatred, or to relieve her from the Hands of such inhumane and perfidious Tyrants. The honefter Sort among the Citizens, stung with Remorse and Pity, crowded to the Place, and had certainly set her at Liberty, if the Conspirators, who knew the honest Temper of the Queen, had not immediately run up Stairs to the Room where she stood, and with a well feigned Grief, protested they were heartily sorry they had given her any Cause of Complaint; that they never had a Design of robbing her of her Freedom, and would instantly restore her to her Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, and that Authority over them she had hitherto possessd. This failed not to produce the desired Effect; for she now

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* Mel. p. 84.

appearing to the People calm and at Ease, they were easily dispersed: In the mean time to prevent the Danger of her Rescue for the future, and the better to varnish their real Intentions, they carried her that Evening to the Palace; where being all convened, it was without any Manner of Dispute, agreed to, that she should be immediately sent to the Castle of *Loch-levin*, there to remain during Life, and the Royal Authority established in the Person of her Son, by that Means, (as she had very well foreseen) to get the Management of all Affairs into their own Hands. The Reasons why this Place was pitched upon for her Imprisonment, seem to be, that *Balfour* had not then surrendered the Castle of *Edinburgh*; that this in *Loch-levin* was surrounded with Water, being at least Half a Mile from the nearest Point of Land; that the Governor and Owner was a *Douglas*, and that Way tied to *Morton* and the Party, but especially in being, by the Mother-side, a Brother of *Murray's*. All these fine Reasons however, were likely to come to nothing, for *Douglas* at first refused the Charge of the Prisoner; and that Night as she was hastily, and but weakly guarded, removed from her Palace thither, by the Lords *Lindsay* and *Ruthven*, they narrowly escaped from the Lords *Seton*, *Yester* and *Borthwick*, the Baron of *Waughton*, *Bass*, *Ormiston*, *Wedderburn*, *Blackader* and *Langton*; who had suddenly mustered what Force they could to attempt her Relief. As to *Douglas's* Scruple, it was removed by giving him a Bond of Warrandice, which all the *Associators* signed, obliging themselves solemnly that if

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at any Time hereafter he should be called to an Account as Accessory to the Queen's Confinement, by herself, her Heirs or Successors, or any having Authority from them, they should indemnify him and his Heirs from any Process, Expence, Punishment or Trouble, that might ensue thereupon; and ratify the same in the next Session of Parliament; which, the better to secure him to their Interest, was accordingly performed.

The Queen thus secured, their next Care was still to blind the common Herd with the popular Pretence of revenging the Murder of the King; and to make that Matter look as if the Queen had hitherto opposed it, the very next Night after her Imprisonment, the City of *Edinburgh* was carefully searched, and every House-keeper ordered to give an exact List of all the Persons in his Family, expressing fully their Age, Country, Names, and Designations; hereupon two Men were seized and committed upon Suspicion, *Sebastian de Villars* a *Frenchman*, who had the good Fortune to make his Escape, and Capt. *William Blackader*, who was with very great Expedition tried and condemned by a Jury and Judges resolved to find him Guilty. Every Body was fond of being present at his Execution, and People flocked from all Parts of the Country to hear his Confession or last Speech, in Hopes to find a new and ample Discovery of the whole Matter: But instead of that, * after he had begged Forgiveness of Heaven for all his Sins, pardoned those who had unjustly sought his Death, and de-

* *Camb. B. 1. p. 97.*

desired the Prayers of the Standers by in his Behalf, he protested solemnly before God and his Angels, that he was wholly innocent of that Crime for which he was to suffer, and that he believed the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton* were the Authors. There was another Sacrifice to the Mob, no less necessary than this one, and which accordingly pleased their good Friends of the Church exceedingly; for on the same Day the Captain was apprehended, the Earl of *Glencairn* * accompanied only by his Domesticks, entered the Queen's Chapel of *Holyroodhouse*, and not only demolished the Altar, but broke the Pictures and all the other Ornaments, without either Regard to Price or Workmanship.

In this Month landed *Monsieur de Villeroy*, Ambassador from *France*; who being barred Access to the Captive Queen, returned suddenly Home again.

The Associators, however baulked by *Blackader's* Obstinacy, (as they termed it) were resolved to carry on Matters swimmingly and above Board. And Proclamations were emitted in the chief Cities of all the Shires, to apprehend the Duke of *Orkney*, some Time Earl of *Bothwell*, as guilty of the late King's Murder, and a 1000 Pounds promised as a Reward to those who should bring him to Justice. Thus was a Price (by a sudden Turn of Affairs) set upon the Head of a Man, as an infamous Parricide, who had once been the Darling of the common People for his Courage and Liberality, the Envy of the Court, and but a very few Days before, lawfully preferred

red to the Bed of a Queen; and such an one as, had she been placed in a lower Rank, had yet been owned amongst the most beautiful Women in the World. Notwithstanding of all this Forwardness, they were uneasy enough amongst themselves; each studied to be preferred to a Sovereignty over the rest, and nothing indeed kept them already from splitting into Pieces, but the Strength of their Enemies. Their Sovereign had yet many and powerful Friends, and a just Cause; amongst these the *Hamiltons* stood firm for her, but *Argyle* suffered himself to be so long tampered with by the Earl of *Glencairn*, that he almost forgot his Loyalty; and indeed, this seeming or real Success, proved no small Encouragement for others to venture their Estates upon the same Bottom.

Thus strengthened and secured, nothing was wanting to carry on the Work but Money; and tho' from what followed it was obvious, that the Queen of *England* had a notable Hand in all these Matters, yet she sent them no such Sums as would maintain any considerable Number of Forces; but on the contrary, by giving them little, she kept them to a closer Dependence upon her for her Assistance: For it was plain that by embroiling the Affairs of *Scotland*, and rendering at once the Queen of *Scots* and Dowager of *France* obnoxious to the People's Hatred, she politickly secured her own Country from the Attempts of either of these Nations, by keeping them thus jealous of one another, and so far from thinking of joining together. However the good *Affociators*, as Men that would stop at nothing, or had Right to all Things, to supply

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this Want of Money, confidently seize upon their Sovereign's Plate, which they converted into current Coin, melting down at once no less than 256 Pound Weight of Silver, to arm themselves against her with her own Weapons. As these Things were acting, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* came down Ambassador from the Queen of England, seemingly to endeavour a Peace; but under-hand, at once to foster the growing Divisions, and to dive so closely into Affairs, as to be able upon all Occasions, to instruct his Mistress how to manage, so as to keep it, if possible, in her own Power to balance both Parties, as either of them should prove fittest for her Turn.

The Rebels in the mean time, to crown the Business, and to give the finishing Stroke to what they had so successfully begun, must have the Shadow of a King to cover their Rebellion from the Eyes of the common People, and under the Shelter of whose Wings, all Profits and Honours might be safely conveyed to themselves and Followers: But to put a good Face upon the Matter, a Consent and Commission was first to be obtained from the captive Queen. This she at first flatly refused to grant, but being very harshly used by the Lords *Lindsay* and *Ruthven*, who were employed by the Associators in this Affair, and who threatened her with no less than Death, if she complied not; and being assured too by some of her best Friends, that a Resignation extorted by just Fear, during her Imprisonment, was void in Law, she signed whatever Papers they presented to her, without so much as reading one of them; and indeed her

her Tears would hardly have permitted her that Benefit, if she had desired it.

One of the Writs contained a Resignation of the Crown and royal Dignity, with a Commission to invest her Son in the same, with the usual Solemnities. The other appointed the Earl of *Murray* Regent during his Minority, if upon his Return he thought fit to accept of the Employment, and in case he should not, the Duke of *Chastelherault*, was nominated, with the Earls of *Lenox*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Glencairn* and *Mar*, who were jointly to govern, and preside in the Administration of all publick Affairs.

Having thus far advanced the goodly Work, all the Nobility who were, or were not of their Party, are instantly summoned to repair to *Stirling* to assist at the Coronation of the young King; and, that what was wanting in Substance might be made up with Ceremony and Form, at the same Time, being the 26th of *July*, both the pretended *Renunciation* and *Commission* were solemnly published and proclaimed at the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*. All Things being thus prepared, on the 29th of the same Month, 1567, in the Parish-Church of *Stirling*, the Prince was anointed King by *Adam* Bishop of *Orkney*, and crowned by *John* Earl of *Athole*, conform to the Tenor of the *Commission* which they had extorted from the *Queen*. As they returned from the Church to the Castle, *Athole* carried the Crown, the Earl of *Morton* the Scepter, the Earl of *Glencairn* the Sword of Honour, and the Earl of *Mar* the young King.

The Solemnity was hardly over when *James* Earl of *Murray* landed in *England*, it was cer-

tain the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, who was the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, ought to have stopt him in that Court, knowing how deeply he was concerned in all the Plots against his Mistress; but he bethought himself too late, and the Earl was too nimble for him; for those who were sent to bring him back, found he had sailed half an Hour too soon from *Diep*, and got fairly out of their Reach; besides his mighty Haste, he promised very fair Things to the King, to facilitate his Departure, and persuaded him that he went Home to assist the Queen rather than to serve her Enemies: When he came to *Berwick*, Sir *James Melvil* of *Hall-hill*, and one or two more with him, were sent by the *Associators* to welcome him Home, and to inform him that he was appointed Regent during the Minority of the young King. They brought Letters too from some of the mildest of the Conspirators, advising him not to proceed against the Queen with Heat and Resentment, but to thank her for the Honour she had done him, in trusting him with the sole Management of Affairs; for this Reason at least, that they might assure to themselves from the Softness of her Nature, an easy Pardon, if their Party, which was not yet strong enough, should at any Time be overthrown by the *Loyalists*. He who was ever versed in all the Arts of Dissimulation, and to whom it was now no more a Study, seemed very well pleased with the Advice his Friends had given him, but not at all with the proffered Dignity, alledging his Inabilities to discharge so great a Trust, and those Hazards which attended the Great; qualifying his Answer nevertheless

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(lest the ambitious *Morton* had taken him at his Word) by telling them, that he sincerely wished the Welfare and Prosperity of his Country, and would take some few Days to think upon what they had proposed. There was something more material in this than a feigned Modesty, for not knowing exactly how Matters stood, he reasonably thought it imprudent and dangerous to engage too far hoodwink'd, and barely upon airy Projects, in a Business which, if it succeeded not, would cost him no less a Forfeiture than that of his Head and Fortune.

Upon the 11th of *August* he arrived at *Edinburgh*, where he was received by his Friends with all the Demonstrations of Joy usual upon the most solemn Occasions. He was there again pressed to take the Government upon him, and returned an Answer much the same with that he had before given to their Delegates or Envoys: In the mean time he tried what was to be done with the Loyalists by fair Means, and attacked them severally by Letters, in which he protested, that tho' he was urged by those who stood for the Safety of the young King, to accept of the Regency, yet he was ever resolved to decline the same, as knowing it a Burthen to be laid upon many, because too heavy for the Shoulders of one Man, and especially such an one as himself; who having no Itch to rule, would be most sensible of the Fatigue and Weight inseparable from so important and great a Trust; and wished them speedily to assign a Place of Meeting, where, as good *Scots-Men*, they might unanimously determine and resolve upon such Methods as they should find necessary for Support

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(lest the ambitious *Morton* had taken him at his Word) by telling them, that he sincerely wished the Welfare and Prosperity of his Country, and would take some few Days to think upon what they had proposed. There was something more material in this than a feigned Modesty, for not knowing exactly how Matters stood, he reasonably thought it imprudent and dangerous to engage too far hoodwink'd, and barely upon airy Projects, in a Business which, if it succeeded not, would cost him no less a Forfeiture than that of his Head and Fortune.

Upon the 11th of *August* he arrived at *Edinburgh*, where he was received by his Friends with all the Demonstrations of Joy usual upon the most solemn Occasions. He was there again pressed to take the Government upon him, and returned an Answer much the same with that he had before given to their Delegates or Envoys: In the mean time he tried what was to be done with the Loyalists by fair Means, and attacked them severally by Letters, in which he protested, that tho' he was urged by those who stood for the Safety of the young King, to accept of the Regency, yet he was ever resolved to decline the same, as knowing it a Burthen to be laid upon many, because too heavy for the Shoulders of one Man, and especially such an one as himself; who having no Itch to rule, would be most sensible of the Fatigue and Weight inseparable from so important and great a Trust; and wished them speedily to assign a Place of Meeting, where, as good *Scots-Men*, they might unanimously determine and resolve upon such Methods as they should find necessary for Support

of the Government, now destitute of a chief Ruler, their King being but an Infant. His next Care was to visit his Queen, whom he used most barbarously; for notwithstanding of the Advice he had received concerning her, he could not lose so sweet an Opportunity of adding to the Miseries of the distressed. He charged her before all those who waited upon him, with the Crimes of *Adultery* and *Murder*, and like a ghostly Father, bid her remember that all those Ills she suffered, were the Effects of her Sins against God, and but an Earnest of future Punishments. The afflicted Princess patiently heard this and a great deal more to the same Purpose, and only begged in Tears, as a Brother, he would spare her Life and Reputation; *That* (replied he) *is already lost; and for your Life, the Parliament must look to that;* and so flung out of the Room. This unnatural Usage was what she did not expect from him of all Men living, being often heard say, when his Mother used to boast, (for she lived with her in the Castle) that she was the lawful Wife of *James V.* and her Son *Murray* the true Heir of the Crown, *He is too Honest to say so himself.* The Loyalists in the mean time made no great Haste to answer his Letters, or appoint a Diet, and tho' the Clergy sent Commissioners to persuade them, who were then for the most Part at *Hamilton*, they found them still in the same Humour, and not to be debauched from their Allegiance (like the giddy Rout) with mere Cant and Grimace, instead of solid Arguments: This, however it might vex him, did not at all discourage him; for on the 22d of *August*, being but eleven Days after he came

came Home, the *Associators* proceeded to the intended Election, and having unanimously bestowed their Votes for him, he was the same Afternoon proclaimed only and lawful Regent to *James VI.* by the Grace of God King of *Scots*, his Realm and Lieges.

His first Care was to get the Castle of *Edinburgh* into his Hands, kept hitherto by *Balfour*, who instantly surrendered it upon the following Conditions, (having indeed Reason to insist upon the first Article, because placed there by the Duke of *Orkney*, which, as Matters then stood, was enough to have hanged any Man without a Crime:)

1. *That he should have an ample Remission of all Treasons, particularly for being Art and Part, as the Phrase is, in the Murder of the late King.*

2. *The Gift and Donation of the Priory of Pittenweem.*

3. *To his Son heritably a Pension of — out of the Revenue of St. Andrews.*

4. *And to himself the Sum of 5000 Pounds, to be instantly paid before he marched out of the Castle.*

As soon as the Money was delivered, the new Regent entered with a few of his Friends, and lay that Night, being the 24th of *August*, in the same Room where the Queen had been not many Months before brought to Bed, and where that good Princess had generously refused to imprison him, at the Request of the Earls of *Bothwell* and *Huntly*, who, backed by the Bishop of *Ross*, endeavoured to persuade her, that during the Time of her Illness after her Delivery, he designed to bring Home by Force those Lords who had been banished but
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three Months before, for the Murder of *Rizio*.

Their next Business was to apprehend the Duke of *Orkney*, fearing, lest some Time or other, with the Assistance of his Friends, he might cut out Work for them, at Home or abroad, and in his own Defence, paint the Murderers of the King in such lively Colours, that every Body must know them to be *Murray* and *Morton*. *Murray* understanding therefore that the Duke lay at *Orkney*, with a few Ships that had followed him as High Admiral of *Scotland*, he sends his trusty Friend *Grange*, with all Expedition against him, and with twice the Duke's Force; who, coming upon him unawares, took most of them as they rode at Anchor, (for *Orkney* escaped but with few) and lost but one Ship himself, called, *The Unicorn* of *Leith*, and of no great Burden. The Prisoners paid dearly for this Disappointment of the Regent's, for many of them were hanged as common Malefactors, and the rest were very scurvily used. The Duke now no longer safe at Home, held out some Days to Sea, till unhappily espying upon the Coast of *Norway* a *Turkey* Vessel, he began to think of making her Prize, in order to facilitate his Return Home, and to make himself in a Condition once more to cope with *Grange*. But he was beaten in the Attempt by some *Norwegians*, who readily came out to her Assistance, and in Spite of all his Bravery, and the Resolution of his Men, was taken Prisoner and confined as a common Pirate. The Regent and his Friends were no sooner informed of this, than believing their Prey secure, and fond of executing their Revenge, as if this bold Stroke

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had been enough to daunt and terrify all their Enemies, immediately dispatch Commissioners to the King of *Denmark*, desiring he might be forthwith sent back to *Scotland*, there to suffer an exemplary Punishment for the Murder of their King. But that Prince who looked upon them and those who sent them, to be such as indeed they were, told them in few Words, *"That he knew of no Authority they had in Scotland, to demand, examine, or condemn any Man; and that if their King was murdered, it was the Business of their Queen to look to that"*. The Regent, who had his Hands full of Work at Home, was forced to pocket the Affront, and the unfortunate Duke overcome with so many repeated Ills, and the tedious Confinement of almost ten Years, at last escaped the Revenge and Fury of his Enemies, by a Death more natural than they had designed for him. He was one of the handsomest Men of his Time, well made, and of undoubted Courage, tho' in his declining Fortune otherwise represented by his Adversaries, who forgot that he was unanimously chosen General to their Army, when very young, merely upon the Score of his Bravery. He had been ever a constant Loyalist, and representing an antient Family which gave him many Dependens, made Use of his Power in doing very considerable Services to the Crown. But being a Man far from a very strict Life and Conversation, and relying too much upon the early Successes of his Youth, he became at last too forward and ambitious, by which in his riper Years, he betrayed himself into all those Inconveniencies which beset him. That he was
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the Murderer of the King seems generally believed by most Men; but that *Murray* and *Morton* were his Associators and Sharers in the Guilt, seems to be fully as undeniable; for tho' the first of these retired from *Edinburgh* to avoid being suspected, and died without acknowledging the Crime, yet the latter, after an Impunity of fourteen Years, justly lost his Head for this detested Parricide. It appears plain too they were glad of his Escape from *Carberry-Hill*, for no Man pursued him then, nor did any Body offer to attack him at *Dunbar*, whither he retreated, and staid at least fourteen Days, even when they put out their sham Proclamations to apprehend him, as if they had not known where to find him; and indeed if *Grange* had taken him at *Orkney*, it is more than probable (lest he had betrayed his Accomplices) that he had been sacrificed upon the Spot. It is certain the Fact was never fully proved against him. It was confidently reported at this Time, by very good Men, and many People of Reputation and Honour, that during his Imprisonment in *Denmark*, and at his Death, he often solemnly protested, *That the Queen was wholly innocent of the Murder of her Husband*; upon which her Enemies, to remove the Force of so pregnant an Evidence, immediately gave it out that he died mad, and knew not what he said. Nevertheless in four Years Time thereafter, her Persecutor the Earl of *Morton*, when he came to the Scaffold, was forced by a Remorse of Conscience, to do her the same Justice, and confirm the Words of his dying Adversary, which he had so long endeavoured

oured to render suspected as fabulous, or at least the Effects of Madness.

The Queen in the mean time finding that Employments were given to none but her Enemies, and that they had no Thoughts of restoring her again to her Liberty, sent Instructions to some of her Friends, such as *Argyle, Boyd, Livingston*, and the Commendator of *Kilwinning*, to represent to the *Associators*, especially their Head *Murray*; "*That her Consent was not spontaneous, but forced, either to the crowning of the Prince, or to Murray's being preferred to the Regency; and if any Regent could be lawfully elected, she thought James Duke of Chatlerault and Earl of Arran, &c. the fittest Person for that Office.*" They were likewise to treat concerning her Liberty, and some other Matters which were of less Weight; but the Duke being then abroad, the Matter came only to this Issue; "*That at present and in his Absence too, it was by no Means convenient to unhinge the Government as then established, and that it was Time enough to determine that Matter when he returned.*" As for the Queen's Liberty, "*Things stood then in so ticklish a Posture, that it was not safe to make any considerable Alteration in Affairs, nor would it yet be consented to by those Peers who had sworn Allegiance to her Son, since it consisted not with his Safety, of which his Infancy and their solemn Oaths made all of them Guardians.*" This handsome Denial informed the Commissioners that nothing was to be expected from him by fair Means, and that all his Civility was only to gain Time, because
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some very important Forts yet held out for the Queen. However, to obviate the Excuse of the Duke's Absence, or rather indeed because his Presence was very necessary, they dispatched the Commendator of *Kilwinning* immediately to *France* to hasten him Home; and *Murray*, lest he should come too soon, at the same Time summoned a Parliament, to meet at *Edinburgh* the 19th of *December* next.

To make his Interest stronger in the intended Meeting of the Estates, and to be before Hand with his Enemies, he resolved as soon as possible, to have the most considerable Places of Strength in his own Power, and therefore hastens to the Castle of *Dunbar*, then kept for the Queen, by the Laird of *Whitelaw*, whom he summoned instantly to surrender. The Gentleman, not to be shaken with big Words from his Post and Loyalty too, assured him he would defend the Castle to the last Extremity. This Answer put him to his Shifts; for to besiege formally, when Business called him twenty several Ways at once, was a very uneasy Task, and not to take it, was to encourage his Enemies, and dishearten his Friends; since the one would look upon it as a good, and the other as a bad Omen, to see him baffled in his first Attempt. With all Expedition therefore he begins the Siege, and brings Cannon to carry on the Work from the Castle of *Edinburgh*: But the Governor, who saw no Hopes of being relieved, and who was no Stranger to the Regent's Cruelty, upon second Thoughts yielded, before the Business came to the last Push, and by that Means got some favourable Conditions for himself.

himself and the Garrison. The great Guns were all dismounted and carried to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, with those brought from thence to carry on the Siege; and *Murray* having either few Men to spare, or being scarce of Money, or, it may be, lest some Time or other they should prove Places of Refuge for the Enemy, this and several other Castles of Importance, were ordered to be demolished.

During this short Siege, that the main Point might not seem neglected, the Nobility and Gentry of *East-Lothian*, who were suspected as Favourers of the Queen's Interest, or as Well-wishers to the Duke of *Orkney*, were charged under the highest Penalties, to subscribe an Oath of Allegiance, or Obedience, to the Regent, and to give their utmost Aid for prosecuting the Murderers of the late King. Many minding their own Ease, and to preserve their Estates and Friends from a merciless Enemy, put their Hands to it, against the express Dictates of their Consciences; whilst those who firmly adhered to their Principles of Loyalty, and their first Oath of Obedience to their Queen, were denounced Rebels, and their Estates and Moveables confiscated to the Regent's Use. The next Step that could conduce to the Advancement of his Interest and Security, was the bestowing the Government of the Castle of *Edinburgh* upon a Man of Courage and undoubted Affection for himself and his Party. Amongst his Friends and numerous Dependents, Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, for his signal Services, especially his last one against the Duke of *Orkney*, appeared fittest for that Trust, who in the End proved just as

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honest as his Predecessor *James Balfour*.

Upon the 19th Day of *December* the Parliament met, where the hasty Election of the Regent was confirmed, and every Thing done by him or his Order, since his Entry to the Exercise of the Government. Some popular Acts were made in Favour of the Church, and against Popery, and the Duke of *Orkney* who had been once voted innocent by that honourable House, when most of the Members were present, was now, when most of them were absent, proclaimed a Traitor, and so to be reputed, by all the King's good Subjects, for the Murder of their late Prince.

The Loyalists had very well foreseen what Height of Authority this sham Meeting would pretend to, and what headstrong Methods they were likely to pursue; and hoping to balance Matters by their Presence, had sent before-hand to *Murray* and his Associates, one of their Number to acquaint them, " That being desirous of Peace, " and as good *Scots-men*, having a just Concern " for the Welfare of their Country, they were " unanimously resolved to attend the Parliament, " where every Thing should be determined by a " Majority of Voices, providing they might in " the mean time have any reasonable Security " for their Persons, which was absolutely necessary, when the Nation was in an Uproar, " and the City possessed by their Enemies, whose " Followers were numerous and armed." This Proposal, however reasonable and approved of by the wisest, was nevertheless slighted and thrown out of Doors as presumptuous, and tending to create Jealousies amongst the King's good Sub-

Subjects: Upon which the Loyalists, tho' it manifestly endangered the Queen's Life, drew up and subscribed the following Bond or Association at *Hamilton*, their common Place of Meeting *.

Forasmuch as considering the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign to be detained at present in Loch-levin in Captivity, wherefore the most Part of her Majesty's Lieges, cannot have free Access to her Highness; and seeing it becomes us of our Duty to seek her Liberty and Freedom; we Earls, Lords, and Barons undersubscribing, promise faithfully to use the utmost of our Endeavours, by all reasonable Means to procure her Majesty's Freedom and Liberty, upon such honest Conditions as may stand with her Majesty's Honour, the Commonweal of the whole Realm, and Security of the whole Nobility, who at present have her Majesty in keeping; whereby this our native Realm may be governed, ruled and guided, by her Majesty and her Nobility, for the common Quietness, the Administration of Justice, and Weal of the Country. And in case the Noblemen, who have her Majesty at present in their Hands, refuse to set her at Liberty upon such reasonable Conditions as said is, in that Case, we shall employ ourselves, our Kindred, Friends, Servants, and Partakers, our Bodies and Lives to set her Highness at Liberty, as said is, and also to concur to the Punishment of the Murder of the King her Majesty's

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* Some ignorant People have accused the Author as the Forger of this Bond, but they might have seen it in *Melvil's Memoirs*, p. 88. and it bears in itself all the Marks of a genuine Paper, only the Date here seems to be erroneous, which is wanting in *Melvil's Book*.

sty's Husband, and for the sure Preservation of the Person of the Prince, as we shall answer to God, and on our own Honours and Credit; and to that Effect shall concur every one with other at our outmost Power. And if any shall set upon us, or any of us, for the doing, as aforesaid, in that Case, we promise faithfully to espouse one anothers Interest, under Pain of Perjury and Infamy, as we shall answer to God. In witness whereof, we have subscribed these Presents, at Hamilton, the 25th of December, 1567.

St. Andrews,
Argyle,
Huntly,
Arbroath,

Galloway,
Ross,
Fleming,
Herries,

Stirling,
Kilwinning,
W. Hamilton of
Sanquhar Kt.

This Passage, tho' Murray would not seem to take Notice of it, yet gave him some Uneasiness, which he could not so very well conceal as he imagined he did; for he immediately by Proclamation ordered all the Subjects to attend him in Arms, under the Pretence of suppressing some disorderly Thieves in the South Borders; and that this might indeed seem the real Cause of gathering so many Troops, he went to *Glasgow* to hold Justice Courts, where, by his Sentences, he too well informed the World of his Disposition to Cruelty. Thus ended the Year 1567.

In the Beginning of the next, so much Corn had been exported, that no less than Famine threatened the poorer Sort; yet such was the Regent's good Management in what so much concerned the Welfare of the Publick, that when little, or none at all, was to be seen in the Markets, the Exportation thereof was at last

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discharged, and but then under the Penalty of confiscating only what they exported.

On the 22d of *April* arrived *Monsieur Beaumont*, Ambassador from the King of *France*, and on the 27th of the same Month, had Audience of the Regent, who was still at *Glasgow*; his Business was to put him in mind of his Promise to the King his Master, when in *France*, of setting his Queen and Sister at Liberty upon his Return to *Scotland*, of which he expected now the speedy Performance, since his unexpected Accession to the Regency had effectually put it in his Power; but more especially because it could be done safely and without Hazard, the most considerable Places of Strength in the Kingdom being in his own Hands. *Murray* replied, " That he was so far from being able
 " to perform his Promise, that indeed he could
 " hardly give him a distinct Answer, concern-
 " ing a Business of so much Intricacy and Im-
 " portance. That she being now the Parlia-
 " ment's Prisoner, there was no Power in that
 " Affair left to him, nor could he call a new
 " Parliament, since they had met so very lately :
 " And as for what was urged concerning the
 " Easiness of the Matter, because some Forts
 " were in his Possession, it could avail little, this
 " not being at all a proper Season to attempt
 " any Thing in her Behalf, because a much
 " longer Time was absolutely necessary, to blunt
 " the Edge of that Malice which the common
 " People had conceived against her." This the
 " Ambassador easily saw was mere Shifting, and
 " was sorry to find so little Hopes of Success, whilst
Murray in the mean time was no less pleased to
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have thus fob'd him off, and resolved to have used the same Artifices for the future, being unwilling to break with *France*, till he had better secured *England* to his Interest. But on *Sunday Evening* the 2d of *May*, which was but the 5th Day after *Beaumont's* Audience, the Queen luckily made her Escape, and left it not in the Regent's Power to perform his Promise, or show enough how little he regarded it.

The Rumour of this Accident could not but surprize her Friends, who expected no such sudden Turn, well knowing how strictly she was guarded, and equally astonish her Enemies, who could not suspect the Honesty of those to whose Charge they had committed her: Nor indeed did any of them wonder less, when the Means and Manner of her Escape came to be fully known, which was thus:

By frequently conversing with *George Douglas*, Brother to the Baron of *Lochlevin*, whose Prisoner she was, she easily found out his weak Side, and that of all his Failings, his excessive Love of Money was the chief: By slow Degrees she had long smoothed the Way, and had often not obscurely hinted what she wished and expected from him. *George* seemed always pleased with the Subject, and scrupled not to say, that no Reward was too large for him, who, to relieve the distressed, betrayed his Interest and his Friends. The Queen readily embraced such an Opportunity as this, of driving the Nail to the Head, and frankly offered not only the best Part of what she had about her in Gold and Jewels, but promised him a far greater Sum to be paid after her Freedom; which so far

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wrought upon him, that in one Instant he forgot both what he owed to his Brethren, and that Party he had hitherto espoused. And indeed this Failing of his seemed the Disease of the Family; for his Brother the Baron, who had no Part of the Booty purchased with the Queen's Freedom, found afterwards a Way to make up that Loss, in the treacherous selling the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose Price he shared with the Earl of *Morton* *. The Queen having thus secured *George*, it was easy for her to write to her Friends. The Gentleman entrusted with her Letters, was one *John Beaton*, a Person of unblemished Loyalty, to whom *Douglas* faithfully delivered them, and who never failed to pass unsuspected, betwixt *Lochlevin*, *Hamilton* and *Seton*. The Day already mentioned being pitched upon as fittest for the Execution of their Purpose, because then People were generally within Doors, and at their Devotion, *George* Lord *Seton*, and *James* *Hamilton* of *Rochbank*, with a few Attendants, well chosen, resolute, and compleatly armed, came by several Roads to the Place appointed for their Rendezvous, and lay about Half an Hour in a little obscure Bay, impatiently longing to see the Boat coming from the Castle, which at last appeared, and gave the Sign condescended upon, to let them know the Queen was in it. As soon as she came to Land, to prevent a Surprize, they mounted her on Horseback, and rode a good round

* The Laird of *Lochlevin* ought not to be blamed for this disgraceful Transaction so much as the Earl of *Mar* then Regent, who properly must be said to have sold and delivered the E. of *Northumberland*, tho' the others shared in the Price.

round Gallop to *Niddrie* (an House belonging to my Lord *Seton*) where having stayed but three Hours, they made the same Haste to *Hamilton*, and were there received by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Cassils*, *Eglington*, and *Roths*; the Lords *Somervuil*, *Yester*, *Livingston*, *Herries*, *Maxwel*, *Sanguhar*, and *Ross*, and Laird of *North-Berwick*, with their Friends and Followers, to the Number of a Thousand effective Men.

Before any Thing should be attempted by Force, it was thought expedient by those who were present, that some of their Number should be sent to *Murray*, who was still at *Glasgow*, to desire him peaceably to resign the Regency, and reponne the Queen to her Authority. But that by the Advice of those about him, he flatly refused to yield to, telling the Commissioners, (whom he thought fit to detain as Prisoners) that to the last, he would defend the King's and his own Right, against all his Enemies whatsoever. This positive Answer soon taught them what Methods they were to pursue. Preparations on all Hands were made for War, and Proclamations emitted for that Effect, by the Regent at *Glasgow*, and by the Queen at *Hamilton*, *Lanerk*, and other Places that owned her Authority; Mr. *Beaton* being in the mean time dispatched for *France*, to inform that King how Matters stood, by *Beaumont*, who in vain laboured for a Peace between both Parties.

The Queen having called a general Council, and solemnly declared upon Oath, that her Resignation of the Government was extorted from her by Force, it was unanimously determined, that she should take Possession of the Castle of

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Dumbarton, and there remain, till her faithful Subjects came to her Assistance, and a Parliament should be called to rescind the illegal Acts of the former, and lay down such Measures as might best conduce to her Safety, with that of the young Prince, and establish a lasting Peace, for the general Security of the Nation, hitherto endangered by the manifest Appearances of a Civil War. In Pursuance of this Resolution, which was indeed reasonable and safe, she began her March from *Hamilton* on the 13th of May. But the Regent, who wisely resolved to give no Time to his Enemies (lest that might open the Eyes of the common People, whom he had hitherto blinded with the specious Pretences of Religion, Liberty, and the Revenge of the King's Murder) posted himself conveniently enough in her Way to oppose her Passage, with an Army much inferior in Number, but resolute, and better armed from the publick Magazines. His Strength consisted of some Odds of 3000 Men, of which the principal Officers were the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Home*, *Lindsay*, *Sempil*, *Ruthven*, *Graham*, *Ochiltrie*, and Secretary *Lethington*. The Queen's Army was almost 6000 *, the chief Leaders were the Earls of *Cassils*, *Rothes*, *Eglington* and *Argyle*; the Lords *Claud Hamilton*, *Seton*, *Herries*, *Somervill*, *Fleming*, *Boyd* and *Ross*; with many Gentlemen considerable for the Number of their Followers, amongst whom were the Sheriff of *Ayr*, and Sir *James Hamilton*.

* The Queen's Army was neither so numerous nor well armed, for they had not Time to assemble, and would not have engaged, had not *Murray* lain in their Way.

Hamilton of Crawford-John. Thus prepared, both Armies met at a little Village called *Langside*, about seven or eight Miles from *Glasgow*, where *Murray* placed his Men so very advantageously, that it was next to an Impossibility to have beaten him. Nor indeed was the Fight long doubtful, for the Van of the Queen's Troops, consisting mostly of the Gentlemen and others of the Sirname of *Hamilton*, falling in unluckily amongst some Ditches, were on both Sides severely gall'd by the Enemies small Shot, and being but scurvily seconded by my Lord *Herries*, who ought to have supported them, were forced to shrink back. This hasty Retreat quite disordered the Rear, and every Man fearing an Ambuscade, or that there was some Treachery in the Matter, made the best of his Way from the Field. This grand Misfortune being generally imputed to the Earl of *Argyle*, who, tho' Lieutenant of the Army, shewed himself at this Time but a very ill Soldier, and it was thought too that his Honesty and his Conduct in this Affair were too much of a Piece. Amongst the rest fled the unhappy Queen, very much discouraged, and with few Men in her Company, got safe to *Dumfries*, a Town in the West Country, bordering upon *England*. The Number of those who fell on both Sides were but inconsiderable, not exceeding two Hundred and twenty. But the Regent having pursued his Victory some Miles, the Prisoners by very far surmounted the Account of the Dead. Amongst those were taken, the Lords *Seton* and *Ross*, the Masters of *Cassils* and *Eglington*, the Sheriffs of *Air* and *Linlithgow*, Sir *James Hamilton*

Hamilton of Crawford-John, Sir James Hamilton of Avendale, Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, James Hamilton of Garren, John Hamilton of Nether-garren, James Hamilton of Kincavil, James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, Alexander Baillie of Littlegil, the Laird of Langhope, James Heriot of Trabrown, and William Scott of Balwery. On the conquering Side (which is very remarkable) but one Man was killed, and no body of Note wounded, excepting the Lords Home and Ochiltrie.

Murray now strengthened to his Wish by so signal a Victory over his Queen, goes that Night with a numerous Retinue to Glasgow, and from thence comes next Day to Edinburgh, where he is received with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy. This in Part satisfied his Pride, tho' not his Cruelty and Revenge; but that he might be happy that Way too, seven of the Prisoners must be brought to a Trial, and because nothing would go down with so good a Gust, as the Blood of an Hamilton, the Lairds of Kincavil, Innerwick and Bothwel-haugh, must make three of the unhappy Number, the rest of the Gentlemen of that Name being all of them disposed of in several Prisons, whilst others were let out upon Bail, or for Sums of Money. They were soon condemned; but just as they were led with a strong Guard to the Place of Execution, the Regent seized with a sudden Qualm of Conscience, to which he had been always a Stranger, or fearing to exasperate his Enemies too much, and disgust his milder Friends by this Severity, commanded their Hands to be untied, and committed them again close Prisoners

soners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, under the Custody of his Trustee *Grange*. Proclamations were at the same Time emitted, commanding all the King's Subjects, to attend him at *Biggar*, in order to pursue the Queen and her Adherents; but she finding no Hopes of Safety at Home, had already sent Sir *Robert Melvil* Express to the Queen of *England*, with a large Diamond (she had formerly received from that Princess in Token of sincere Friendship) and a Letter, in which after a short Account of her Misfortunes, she begged her Protection and Assistance, or at least a Pass-port for her Security within her Dominions, in order for her Voyage from thence for *France*. This was just as much as Queen *Elizabeth* wanted, who to sooth her into the Net, sent her all imaginable Assurances of Love and Friendship. All her Friends nevertheless opposed her Intention, and begged of her (some of them upon their Knees) not to give too much Credit to the Queen of *England's* Promises, who never meant well to her nor her Country, and one who had derived an hereditary Hatred from her Ancestors against the latter; That it appeared too well how much Queen *Elizabeth* favoured her Interest, who, in the Beginning of her Troubles, gave more than a bare Protection to her most inveterate Enemies, *William Lord Ruthven*, who died in *Newcastle*, and *James Earl of Morton*, who afterwards came to an End suitable to the Merits of his Life: That it was undoubtedly the Design and Interest of *England* to keep for good and all in their own Hands, a Princess who was looked upon by all Abroad, and not a few at Home, as the Heiress of their Crown.

Crown, and a known Enemy to the established Religion of their Country; that in her Absence, and during her Confinement, they might rule Scotland at second Hand, by keeping the Rebels in constant Fear of restoring her again to her Kingdom, an Advantage which could not but be very obvious to every *Englishman* who knew what Numbers of considerable Friends the Queen of Scots had still at Home; That it was then, and ever had been the Business of *England*, by such or any other Methods to divide Scotland, and bandy one Faction against the other to weaken the whole, as appeared too plainly in that unhappy Dispute betwixt *Bruce* and *Baliol*, &c. In short all these Arguments were in vain, for this generous Princess, who judged of the Intentions of others by the Sincerity of her own, relied entirely upon the Honour of the *English* Queen, and left at once her native Country and her faithful Friends, to the Mercy of her implacable Enemies: But instead of a friendly Reception, and that kind Usage she expected, she found herself at her very first Entry (as an Earnest of what she was to meet with in *England*) confined to *Carlisle*, and afterwards made close Prisoner, under the Custody of the Lord *Scroop*. But of this I shall speak at large by and by.

Murray informed of her Flight, and that Protection the Queen of *England* had promised her, began almost to repent himself of what he had done. He easily foresaw the Ruin of his Party, if that Princess should furnish her with any Troops to accomplish her Restoration; nor did he well know how to be before-hand with her, in applying to the *English* Court, to prevent the

giving of any such Succours. But that which indeed added most to his Uneasiness, and increased the Number of his Fears, was the irksome Remembrance of that scurvy Treatment he had once already met with from Queen *Elizabeth*, in an Affair almost of the same Nature; and tho' it is not exactly to the present Purpose, yet because it serves to give my Reader a clearer Idea of the Earl's Honesty, and the *English* Queen's Conduct, in relation to *Scotland*, I shall presume to deliver it in this Place, and in as few Words as possible.

In the Year 1565, Queen *Mary* was married to *Henry* Lord *Darnly*, Son to the Earl of *Lennox*, whom she had first created Duke of *Albany*, and then proclaimed King. Queen *Elizabeth* disliking the Marriage, either because *Henry* was a Papist, or because it strengthened the *Scots* Queen's Title to the Crown of *England*, used her utmost Endeavours to prevent the Match, and by Letters encouraged *Murray* to oppose the same, promising faithfully, in Case of Danger, to hazard her Crown in his Defence, and for the Safety of those who should be concerned with him. The Earl encouraged by these repeated Assurances of Assistance, mustered and engaged what Friends he could, and boldly took the Field; but his Sovereign's Forces being sooner ready, and better armed, he was forced to fly into *England* without hazarding a Battle. The Queen of *Scots* was heartily sensible of this unfair Dealing from her Sister in Office, and near Kinswoman; and *France* and *Spain* complained aloud by their Ambassadors, that it was her chief Study to embroil her Neighbours in a civil

civil War, and threatened to repay the Injury. *Murray* and his *Associates* in the mean time lay in great Distress at *Newcastle* for want of Money, and often by Letters importuned her for Relief. She nevertheless continued deaf to all their Remonstrances, till the Extremities of Want had moulded them for her Purpose. Then having sent for the Earl to Court, she informed him, that the Necessity of her Affairs obliged her to this Method, nor could she at present afford him any Relief in his Affliction, unless by taking the Fault wholly upon himself, before the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors, he solemnly acquitted her from having any Hand in his Guilt. He, who was indeed no Slave to his Honour, frankly engaged, and as frankly performed the Task enjoined him; and having on his Knees, with a religious Asseveration, declared, *That he had rebelled against his Princess of his own Accord, and not moved thereto by any Person whatsoever,* in Hopes to obtain the promised Assistance; she commands him instantly to withdraw out of her Presence, reproaching him aloud, before these honourable Witnesses, with the Name of Rebel, perfidious Traitor, and what else her Cunning or her Malice suggested. Nay, she carried on the Jest so very far, and acted her feigned Innocence so well to the Life, that the Earl, who had thus basely renounced his Honour and his Honesty, as he had before betrayed his Loyalty, was forced to retire again to *Newcastle*, without a Six-pence of Subsistence-money, where he had certainly suffered inexpressible Hardships, had he not been privately supplied by some Men who pitied him either upon the Score of

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his

his *Religion*, or his constant Inclinations to *Se-
dition*.

The Memory of this Passage, among other Things, as I have already said, made *Murray* very uneasy; but at a Venture depending upon that good Fortune which had attended him hitherto, he returns from *Biggar* to *Edinburgh*, dismissses some Part of his new levied Army, and sends the rest, excepting what he kept about his own Person, to *Cliddisdale*, there to plunder the Castle and Palace of *Hamilton*, which, as commonly happens in such Cases, was most faithfully performed, and the Booty, especially the Money and Plate, brought safe to *Edinburgh*, and locked up in the Castle.

This Piece of powerful Robbery was hardly over when he received certain Intelligence of the Queen's Confinement; and guessing from that early Beginning what would be the Consequence, as to her Treatment from the Court of *England*, he begins now to throw off his Mask, and plays the Tyrant bare-faced, and in earnest. All those who fought, or rather run away, for the Queen at *Lang-side*, are summoned to appear before the Privy-council, to give in their Answers to such Crimes as should be there objected against them. Some who durst not trust their Persons in the Hands of a Man whom no Laws could bind, and others not appearing because they disowned his Authority, had their Houses demolished, their Tenants harrassed, and their Cattle drove off their Grounds, and sold for his Use: But this not being enough to satisfy his Revenge and Avarice, a Parliament was summoned to meet at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *July*,
against

against which Time all the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*, and others Partakers with the Queen, and Favourers of her Interest, were strictly charged to make their Appearance, that with a better Shew of Justice and publick Authority he might be possessed of their Estates: Those who came, and the Gentlemen that staid away, were equally used; tho' it is certain the latter pleased him best, because they were outlawed and forfeited, and saved him the Labour of Probation, and the Toil of a formal Process.

Whilst he thus oppressed and persecuted all the Queen's faithful Friends, especially the *Hamiltons*, two of their Number commissioned by the rest, hastened to *London* to lay the whole Matter before Queen *Elizabeth*, and to crave her Assistance for the Restoration of her Sister, and their Mistress, by supplying her with such a Number of Troops, as might enable her loyal Subjects to reduce those who had shaken off the easy Yoke of her Authority, and bring them to a speedy Sense of their Duty, lest the Infection, for want of early Opposition, should become epidemical, and taint not only the Remainder of the *Scots*, but extend its Empire beyond the *Tweed*, and prove fatal to herself as well as to her Neighbours. In the mean time, not relying too much upon the doubtful Success of this Embassy, they applied themselves diligently to the Advancement of her Interest at Home: In the *South-west*, *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle* stood up as her Lieutenant, tho' it was loudly talked his Commission was but a pretended one *; and in

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* He actually had a Commission.

the *North* the Earl of *Huntly* exercised the same Office, but had his Commission for that Effect publicly read and proclaimed at the Market Cross of *Aberdeen*. *Murray* on the other Hand was not idle, and prepared what Force he could to oppose them; but going to *Stirling* to view the Magazines, and dispose of the Arms to his Followers, and to see the young King, and his Governor the Earl of *Mar*, he discovers a real or a sham Plot, managed by *William Stuart*, Lyon King at Arms, and *Patrick Hepburn*, Parson of *Kinmore*: The Business was very much magnified by his Friends, and a publick Thanksgiving appointed by the Clergy for this miraculous Deliverance of their Protector, and Pillar of the Church, from the Jaws of Death. The Lyon, however, was tried and acquitted, as innocent; but that the Plot might not fall to the Ground, (for these are sometimes very useful) the poor Parson, who could not so well make his Defence, was hanged upon a Gibbet, and denied the Benefit of Interment, tho' many People believed he suffered only as a Friend and Name-sake to the Duke of *Orkney*.

During *Stuart* and *Hepburn's* Trial, the Queen's Friends were very active in her Concerns. *Argyle* had closely besieged the Castle of *Glasgow*, and *Huntly* carried all before him in the North. *Murray* by this Means put to his Shifts, and not having a sufficient Force to resist both, wisely throws off the *Lion's* Skin for that of the *Fox*, and immediately dispatches some of his Friends into *England*, to lay the Matter before Queen *Elizabeth*, and to inform her, who pretended not to be very well pleased with

with his Conduct, " That upon his late Return
 " to his native Country, finding all Things in
 " Disorder, the King murdered, the Queen
 " married to the Parricide, the Laws inverted,
 " the established Religion in Danger, and the
 " young Prince threatened with the Fate of his
 " Father, to make Way for the Duke of *Ork-*
 " *nay's* Children; he had been forced to pre-
 " fer the Dangers of War to the Pleasures
 " of Peace, to incur the Malice and Hatred of
 " many of his Countrymen, and sacrifice him-
 " self and his private Estate by accepting of the
 " Regency, for the Preservation of the young
 " King his Nephew, and the reformed Religi-
 " on, which nevertheless he was unable to per-
 " form without her Assistance; and that as she
 " had been a glorious Instrument in the Hand
 " of God, for the Establishment of the Prote-
 " stant Religion in *England*, he hoped she
 " would continue her Care in that Matter, for
 " her neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland*, that
 " the whole Island might be as one Man, uni-
 " ted against the common Foe, and the Hopes
 " of those frustrated, who earnestly wished
 " Queen *Mary's* Restoration, for no other End,
 " but that by her Means the Idolatries of the
 " Church of *Rome* might be again established in
 " both Kingdoms." This was the Sum of his
 Representation, which wanted not the essential
 Cant and necessary Implements which serve to
 varnish Rebellion, and hide Sedition under the
 agreeable Colours of Zeal for Religion. Nor in-
 deed did he now despair of Success, being alrea-
 dy sensible that it was the Design, as well as
 Interest, of *England* to support him: But that
 he

he might play a double Game, and have two Strings to his Bow, by powerful Gold and Hopes of Preferment, he prevailed upon some who had hitherto adhered to the Queen, or at least seemed to have done so, under the Shadow of Friendship, to represent to her, “ That her Friends “ in *Scotland* being too weak and too few, by “ continuing in Arms were so far from better- “ ing her Affairs, that they brought inevitable “ Ruin upon themselves and their Relations; “ and, by keeping up a civil War to no Pur- “ pose, made the common People more averse to “ her Interest, who were always fond of present “ Ease: That the more she relied upon Queen “ *Elizabeth's* Assistance, she would be the readi- “ er to grant it, Princes being fond of having “ great and good Actions attributed entire- “ ly to their own Generosity, Strength or Con- “ duct; whereas now, her Friends in Arms “ would take the Glory of restoring her to “ themselves, at least share it with the *English* “ Queen: That by divesting herself of such “ Helps, she made that Princess inexcusable if “ she should forsake her, engaged *France* and “ *Spain* with more Earnestness to espouse her “ Quarrel, and shewed to all the World her con- “ stant Inclinations to Peace, her Affection, and “ Compassion for her harrassed Country, and “ how much she confided in her own Inno- “ cence and the Equity of her Cause.” With these and other forged Pretences of future Benefits, by subscribing to present Ruin, the unfortunate Queen was prevailed upon to undo herself, and sent her Letters from *Bolton*, where she was kept, commanding her Lieutenants, and

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all her loyal Subjects whatsoever, to forbear from all Manner of hostile Acts, and to retire peaceably to their own Houses, till they were further acquainted with her Orders. It was talked by those who pretended to be tolerably well versed in the Mysteries of the New-court, and sufficiently acquainted with the most secret Artifices and Intrigues of the Rebels, that Sir Robert Melvil had a considerable Hand in the Management of this Affair, and that he wrote a long Letter to the Queen, containing in Substance those Arguments I have mentioned: But this seems only a Design to defame that Gentleman, or at least a Mistake, because it can hardly be gathered from his following Actions, that he was so very heartily engaged in the Interests of that Party. I have thus far, to avoid Confusion, kept close to what was acted within Scotland. I shall now give the Reader a full View of what past in England, after Queen Mary's Arrival there, with respect only to Scots Affairs, and then twist the Transactions of both Kingdoms together, so far as they are jointly concerned in advancing the Misfortunes of that Princess.

The 17th Day of May she landed at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland*, near the Mouth of the River *Derwent*, having taken Boat at *Kirkcudbright*, accompanied only by the Lord *Herries* and *Fleming*, and that same Night wrote the following Letter in *French* with her own Hand to the *English* Queen:

"* YOU are not ignorant (my very good Sister)
" how some of my Subjects, whom I have raised to
" the

* *Camb. B. p. 109.*

“ the highest Pitch of Honour, conspired to
 “ imprison me and my Husband, and how at
 “ your Intercession, I nevertheless received them
 “ again into Favour, after they had by the
 “ Force of Arms been driven out of my King-
 “ dom. Yet these very Men broke violently
 “ into my Chamber, cruelly murdered my Ser-
 “ vant before my Face, tho’ I was then big
 “ with Child, and forcibly detained me in their
 “ Custody. I nevertheless pardoned them a
 “ second Time. But behold, they pretended a
 “ new Crime against me, which they plotted
 “ themselves, and signed with their own Hands,
 “ and were now ready with an Army in the
 “ Field to charge me. Trusting however to
 “ my Innocence, and desirous to prevent the
 “ shedding of Blood, I willingly put myself in-
 “ to their Hands; upon which they immedi-
 “ ately thrust me into Prison, removed all my
 “ Servants from me, excepting one or two
 “ Waiting-maids, my Physician and my Cook;
 “ constrained me, by Threats and Terror of
 “ Death, to resign my Kingdom; and, in an
 “ Assembly of the *Estates* convoked by their
 “ own Authority, refused to hear me or my
 “ Advocates; despoiled me of my Goods, and
 “ barr’d me from all Conference with any Man.
 “ Afterwards by God’s Guidance, I escaped out
 “ of Prison, and being guarded by the Flower
 “ of the Nobility, which gladly flocked unto me
 “ from all Parts, I put my Enemies in Mind of
 “ their Duty and Allegiance; I offered them
 “ Pardon, and proposed that both Parties might
 “ be heard in an Assembly of the *Estates*, that
 “ the Commonwealth might no longer be dis-
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tracted with civil Combustions. Two Messengers I sent about this Matter, both of them they cast in Prison. Those who aided me they proclaimed Traitors, and commanded them by publick Proclamation presently to leave me. I prayed them that the Lord *Boyd* might, upon publick Faith and Assurance, treat with them about composing Matters; but this also they flatly denied. Yet I hoped by your Mediation, they might have been recalled to their Duty. But when I saw that I must have undergone either Death or a new Imprisonment, I resolved to go to *Dumbarton*. They in the Way opposed themselves against me, killed, and put my Men to Flight in Battle. I betook myself to the Lord *Herries*, with whom I am come into your Kingdom, trusting assuredly in your singular Kindness, that you will assist me, and excite others by your *Example*. I do therefore earnestly intreat you, that I may be forthwith conducted unto you, who am now in very great Straits, as I shall more fully inform you, when it shall please you to take Pity upon me. God grant unto you a long and safe Life, and to me Patience and Consolation, which I hope and pray that I may obtain of him by your Means."

This moving Letter was so far from prevailing upon Queen *Elizabeth*, that instead of a kind Return, * Sir *Francis Knolles* was sent with an express Command to *Louder*, Deputy Warden of the Place, to convey her instantly (as I have already hinted) to the Castle of *Carlisle*, there to remain

* *Camb. B. 1. p. 10. Spot. B. 5. p. 217.*

remain till she was better informed of the Equity of her Cause. This unexpected Treatment very much surprized her, and reflecting at once upon her Imprisonment, and her being denied Access, she could not forbear crying out: "And does the Queen of England then believe in deed that *Mary Queen of Scots* is an ill Woman, because her rebellious Subjects have represented her as such, to excuse their own Crimes?" *Knolles replied*, "That his Majesty was upon all Occasions ready to approve herself her Friend; but that the Matters charged against her, were such, that unless they were disproved, she could not, without disgracing her Subjects of England, espouse her Cause; nor could her Return to Scotland under such Aspersions produce a lasting Peace, since the Generality of People are apt to credit the worst Account of the Actions of the Great, and judge Affairs of the last Importance by the Outside only."

The Queen now too late perceived her Error, in rejecting the Advice of her Friends at *Dumfries*. However, dissembling her inward Grief, and seeming pleased with Sir *Francis's* Gloss upon the Matter, she sent the Lord *Herries* * to intreat Queen *Elizabeth* for a Hearing in her own Presence, where she might both clear herself, and shew how injuriously she had been dealt with, by those whom at her Intercession she had recalled from a just Banishment, to her own Ruin; or, if that could not be granted, to crave she might at least be allowed to depart out of

England.

* *Spot. B. 5. p. 217.*

England, and not be detained as a Prisoner, since she had come voluntarily thither, in full Confidence of her Friendship, often promised and confirmed, as well by Letters, as by repeated Messages. This Request, tho' extremely reasonable and modest, was rejected as the former, and *Herries* could obtain no more from the Queen of *England* than a Promise to write to the Regent, not to assemble the Estates of *Scotland*, and to delay proceeding against those Subjects who stood in her Defence, till Matters came to publick Hearing: And indeed she was in this point as good as her Word. But *Murray* being sufficiently informed by his Friends in *England*, that it was there already determined in Council, to detain the *Scots* Queen as a Prisoner of War, for having assumed the Arms of that Kingdom, when she was married to the Dauphin of *France*, tho' she was forced to that Action, and laid them aside immediately after his Death) and till she should answer for the Death of *Henry* Lord *Darnly*, who was a Native and Subject of that Country, he easily foresaw how far his Disobedience was likely to be resented; and laying no small Strefs upon the Sanction of an Act of Parliament, which he was assured would awe the Mob, and strengthen his Authority; he not only called a Parliament, without any regard to the Letter, but, as I have already said at large, prosecuted the Loyalists with the utmost Severity.

Queen *Elizabeth* however pretended to be very ill satisfied with *Murray* upon this Account, and sent one *Middlemore* to acquaint him,

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“ That

“ * That it was dangerous to Princes to suffer
 “ quietly such Rebellions in their neighbouring
 “ States, because the Example might incite
 “ their own Subjects to the like Practices: That,
 “ for her Part, she was resolved not to see roy-
 “ al Authority trampled upon by those whose
 “ Duty it was to obey; and if in *Scotland* they
 “ had forgot their Obedience to their Sovereign,
 “ yet she could not but let them know, that she
 “ remembered what Offices of Friendship were
 “ due from her to a Queen, and to her King-
 “ woman in Distress; withal assuring him, that
 “ if he did not come himself, or send sufficient
 “ Deputies to answer to the Crimes objected a-
 “ gainst him and his Confederates, and give
 “ Reasons for what he had done against the
 “ Queen, she would not only immediately restore
 “ her to her Liberty, but assist her to the ut-
 “ most of her Power against all her Enemies.”
 All these big Words were to *Murray* no more
 than Cracks of distant Thunder. He knew there
 was not so much Danger as Noise, and that
 Queen *Elizabeth* wanted no more than to have
 the *Scots* Queen’s Reputation thoroughly black-
 ened, and her supposititious Crimes proved a-
 gainst her at any Rate, that she might, with the
 better Face and Appearance of Justice, excuse
 herself to foreign Princes, and to all the World,
 for the Injustice of detaining as a Prisoner a
 crowned Head, who had fled to her for Shelter,
 from the Fury of Rebellion, and had thrown
 herself into her Arms, in Hopes of that Prote-
 ction and Assistance she had promised her.

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The most judicious and discreetest of his Friends decried this shameless and inhumane Method of establishing his Interest, and opposed with many Arguments his Resolution of going into *England*, to prove himself the Tool of that Court. They laid before him * the Danger of incurring the irreconcilable Hatred of all the Queen's Friends in *Scotland*, of most of the Princes Abroad, and especially of her Kinsmen in *France*, by bringing her Reputation openly in Question, and in a juridical Way before Strangers, professed Enemies to the *Scottish* Nation, and who laughed at our Miseries and Divisions; proposing this Method only to heighten both, and with no Design to decide the Matter in Favours of either Party, but to drill out Time, and wheedle them on in dark Suspence, to waste their native Strength and Substance in a civil War; but that above all, he would find it hard to answer this Management to the young King, who, when he came to Manhood, would undoubtedly look upon it as a Disgrace offered to himself and his Country.

These Remonstrances, however reasonable in themselves, were of no Effect: His Malice to his Sister and Sovereign overcame his pretended Regard for the Honour of his native Land and his royal Nephew; and being necessarily obliged to depend wholly upon the *English*, to maintain his usurped Authority, a Commission was immediately passed under the great Seal; which was given to *Murray*, *Morton*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Abbot of *Dumfermling* and

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* *Mel.* p. 93.

the Lord *Lindsay*, and run in the King's Name, in the following Terms *, viz.

“ Impowering them, or any three of them,
 “ to convene with the Deputies of the Queen of
 “ *England* at *York*, or any other Place, or
 “ Places, they should think expedient, there to
 “ make plain and ample Declaration to them,
 “ for informing his good Sister of the true Cau-
 “ ses, whereupon divers of the Nobility and
 “ good Subjects, during the Time that the
 “ Queen his Mother was yet Possessor of the
 “ Crown, took Occasion to have their Recourse
 “ to Arms, to take, detain and sequester her
 “ Person for a Time; with all Causes, Actions,
 “ Circumstances, and other their Proceedings
 “ whatsoever, towards her or any other Subjects
 “ of the Realm, since that Time unto the Day and
 “ Date of the said Commission, or that should
 “ fall out until the Return of the said Commis-
 “ sioners; whereby the Justice of their Cause
 “ and honourable Dealing might be manifested
 “ to the World: As likewise to commune, treat,
 “ determine and conclude with his said Sister,
 “ or her Commissioners, having sufficient Au-
 “ thority, upon all Differences, Causes or Mat-
 “ ters depending betwixt the Subjects of either
 “ Realm; or for further Confirmation or Aug-
 “ mentation of any Treaty of Peace heretofore
 “ made and concluded betwixt the Realms; or
 “ for contracting or perfecting any other Treaty
 “ or Confederation, as well for Maintenance of
 “ the true Religion, publickly professed by the
 “ Inhabitants of both Realms, as for resisting
 “ any foreign or intestine Power, that might be
 “ be

* *Spot. B. 5. p. 218. 219.*

“ be stirred up within the same, to disturb the
 “ present Quietness, that it hath pleased the
 “ Almighty God to grant unto both the King-
 “ doms, in the Unity of the said Religion;
 “ and for Increase of Amity, Peace and Con-
 “ cord, betwixt him and his said Sister, their
 “ Realms, Dominions, People and Subjects;
 “ and generally to do and conclude all Things
 “ which by them, or any Three of them, should
 “ seem convenient and necessary for the Pre-
 “ misses, or any Part thereof, promising to hold
 “ firm and stable, &c. Dated at *Edinburgh* the
 “ 18th of *September*, 1568.”

To the Persons above-named were joined as Assistants, Mr. *James Macgil*, Mr. *Henry Balneaves*, and Mr. *George Buchanan*, Men who had acquired a greater Reputation by their Law and their Learning, than by their Honesty or Religion, tho' the two first were Senators of the College of Justice, and the last had the Honour to be persecuted amongst the earliest of the Reformed. They were accompanied by the Bishop of *Murray*, Secretary *Lethington*, Mr. *Nicholas Elphinston*, the Lairds of *Pittarrow*, *Northberwick* and *Gleesh*, and the factious Mr. *Wood*, *Murray's* Secretary, and one who had got the exact Length of his Master's Foot. Some of these went only to see the Country; and others to try, if it was possible, by the Assistance of those in *England*, who favoured the Scots Queen's Title to that Kingdom, and were Well-wishers to the Union of the two Crowns, if they could dissuade *Murray* from proceeding in this Affair; who made so very great Haste, that, in few Days after the Date of the Commission, he began his

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Journey,

Journey, and was at *York* the 5th of *October*.

Much about the same Time came thither the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Commissioners for the Queen of *England*, with Power "to hear and determine," tho' they had private Instructions against that last Clause, "all Questions, Controversies, Debates and Contentions betwixt her Sister the Queen of *Scots*, and the Subjects adhering to her Interest, and the Earl of *Murray* and others refusing to acknowledge her Authority, and adhering to the Prince her Son:" They were likewise impowered "to confirm the Peace already contracted, or establish a new League to take Place for the future." In a few Days arrived likewise as Commissioners for the *Scots* Queen, *John Lesley*, Bishop of *Ross*, *William Lord Livingston*, *Robert Lord Boyd*, the Lord *Herries*, *Gavin Hamilton* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and the Laids of *Lochinvar*, *Skirling*, *Rosling*, and *Grantully*.

Both Parties being met, their Commissions produced and read, an Oath was exhibited to each of them by the Judges, "That they should proceed sincerely in the Conference or Treaty, nor out of Malice or Affection, or any other worldly Respect, advance any Thing they did not in their Consciences believe to be Truth, or conceal any Thing that might give Light into the Subject Matter of Debate." But before this Oath was taken by either Side, the Commissioners for Queen *Mary* protested, and desired the same might be recorded, lest she or her Posterity should suffer in their Sovereignty by the present Proceedings: That "Tho' she

" at

“ at present, was pleased to have the Differen-
 “ ces betwixt her and her rebellious Subjects, con-
 “ sidered and redressed by her dearest Sister and
 “ Cousin the Queen of *England*, or by the Com-
 “ missioners authorized by her, yet she acknow-
 “ ledged not herself subject to any Judge on
 “ Earth, she being a free Princess, and holding
 “ her imperial Crown of God alone.” The
English Commissioners on the other Hand pro-
 tested against this, in Behalf of their pretended
 Sovereignty over *Scotland*, and then the Meet-
 ing broke up.

The next Day the Commissioners for Queen
Mary gave in a Declaration, containing;

“ **T**HAT *James* Earl of *Morton*, *John* Earl
 “ of *Glencairn*, the Lords *Hume*, *Lindsay*,
 “ *Ruthven*, *Sempil*, *Cathcart*, and *Ochiltrie*,
 “ and others their Assistants, had levied an Ar-
 “ my in the Queen’s Name against the Queen,
 “ taking her most noble Person,” I keep to the
 Words of the Paper “ used her in vile Manner,
 “ and thrust her into Prison in *Lochleven*, and
 “ forcibly broken into her Mint-house, taking
 “ away the Printing-irons, with all the Silver
 “ and Gold, coined and uncoined, which was
 “ in the House for the Time; and going to the
 “ Castle of *Stirling*, had made a Fashion to
 “ crown her Son the Prince, being then but
 “ thirteen Months old. That *James* Earl of
 “ *Murray* taking upon him the Name of Re-
 “ gent, had usurped the royal Authority, and
 “ possessed himself of the whole Forts, Castles,
 “ Ammunition, Jewels, and Revenues of the
 “ Kingdom. And when it had pleased God to
 “ relieve

“relieve her out of that Prison, (wherein she
 “was so straitly detained for the Space of ele-
 “ven Months, and none of her Friends and
 “true Subjects, once permitted to see her, or
 “speak with her) and that she had publicly
 “declared by a solemn Oath, in Presence of
 “divers of the Nobility at *Hamilton*, That
 “whatsoever was done by her in Prison, was
 “extorted by Force, Threats, and Fear of
 “Death; she, out of that Affection which she
 “carried to her Realm and Subjects, did ap-
 “point the Earls of *Argyle*, *Eglington*, *Cassils*,
 “and *Roths*, to agree and make a Pacification
 “with the said Regent and his Partakers; but
 “they were so far from admitting any peace-
 “able Treaty, that they did invade her, in her
 “passing to *Dumbarton*, with the Men of War
 “whom she had hired with her own Money,
 “killed divers of her faithful Subject, led others
 “away Prisoners, and banished some of * good
 “Note, for no other Cause but for serving faith-
 “fully their lawful Princess, and so after a
 “great many Injuries, had forced her to fly in-
 “to *England*, to request the Help of Queen
 “*Elizabeth*, her dearest Sister, and in Blood
 “the nearest Cousin she had in the World, for
 “restoring her to her former Estate, and com-
 “pelling her rebellious Subjects to acknowledge
 “their due Obedience unto her Majesty, which
 “they, in her Highness’s Name, did most in-
 “stantly intreat.”

This Declaration was presented upon the 8th
 of *October*, and on the 9th, the Commissioners

* *Roths* after the Battle of *Langside* was sentenced to
 Banishment for the Space of three Years.

for the Infant King (so they always stiled themselves) gave in theirs, couched in the following Terms:

“ THAT King *Henry*, Father to their Sovereign Lord the King now reigning, being horribly murdered in his Bed, *James Hepburn*, sometime Earl of *Bothwell*, who was known to be the chief Author thereof, entered into such Credit with the Queen, then their Sovereign, that within two Months after the Murder committed, he openly attempted a Rape of her Person, and carried her to *Dunbar* Castle, where he did keep her as Captive, a certain Space, causing a Divorce to be led betwixt him and his lawful Wife; and, upon the Conclusion thereof, did suddenly accomplish a pretended Marriage with the Queen; which insolent Proceedings, together with the shameful Report which passed in all Nations of the King’s Murder, as if the whole Nobility had been alike culpable thereof, so moved the Hearts of a good Number of them, that they thought nothing could be performed more honourable to themselves in the Sight of all the World, than, by punishing the said Earl, who had committed the Murder, to free themselves of the vile Report spread every where; to set the Queen at Liberty from the Bondage of that Traitor, who had so presumptuously enterprized the Rape and Marriage of her, whose lawful Husband he could not be; and to preserve the innocent Person of the King, from the Hands of him who had murdered his Father: For
“ which

“ which Purpose they taking Arms, when the
 “ said Earl came against them with Forces
 “ leading in his Company the Queen to defend
 “ his Wickedness, they offered, for sparing the
 “ Blood of innocent Men, to decide the Quarrel
 “ in a single Combat, whereof himself by
 “ Cartel and Proclamation had sundry Times
 “ made Offer. But after many Shifts, he in
 “ the End directly refused the same, and the
 “ Queen, preferring his Impunity to her own
 “ Honour, that he might have Leisure to es-
 “ cape, came willingly to the Noblemen that
 “ were in Arms, and conferred with them a cer-
 “ tain Space; after which they conveyed her to
 “ *Edinburgh*, informing her of the true Cause
 “ which moved them to that Form of Dealing
 “ and did humbly intreat her Majesty, to suffer
 “ the said Earl and others, the King her Hus-
 “ band’s Murderers, to be punished according
 “ to the Laws, and the pretended Marriage
 “ wherein she was rashly entered to be dissolved
 “ as well for her own Honour, as for the Safety
 “ of her Son, and Quietness of the Realm and
 “ Subjects: But having received no other An-
 “ swer but rigorous Threats against the Nob-
 “ men, and she avouching to be revenged upon
 “ all those that had shewn themselves in the
 “ Cause, they were driven by Necessity to im-
 “ prison her Person, for a Season, from the
 “ Company of *Bothwell*, and the keeping of an-
 “ Intelligence with him, until Punishment
 “ might be taken of him, as Murderer of the
 “ King her Husband. In the mean time
 “ finding herself wearied with the Troubles
 “ Government, and perceiving by Things that

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had passed before that Time betwixt her and the People, that neither could she well allow of their Doings, nor they like of her Fashions; upon these and other Considerations, she voluntarily resigned her Kingdom, and transferred the same unto her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray*, who was at that Time absent forth of the Realm, to be Regent during her Son's Minority; and in Case of the said Earl's Decease, or not Acceptance of the said Office, divers other Noblemen, whose Names are expressed in the Commissions signed by herself, and sealed with the Seal of the Kingdom. The King hereupon being duly, rightly, and orderly crowned and anointed, and the Earl of *Murray*, after his Return, lawfully placed and admitted Regent, all these Things were ratified and confirmed by the three Estates of Parliament, most of those who had withdrawn themselves from his Authority, being present, and giving their Consent to the same: Nevertheless when as Matters were thus established, and the King's Authority universally obeyed without Contradiction, certain Persons, envying the publick Quietness, had, by their subtle Practices, first brought the Queen out of *Lochlevin*, and afterwards by open Force, against * their promised Fidelity, gone about to subvert the Government received; wherein, as they were proceeding, it pleased God to disappoint their Enterprize, and give unto the King and those who stood

“ for

* The Lord *Boyd* alone abandoned *Murray* after the Queen's Escape.

“ for his Authority a notable Victory on the 13th
 “ Day of *May* last. Wherefore their Desire
 “ was, That the King and the Regent, might
 “ peaceably rule and govern the Subjects, ac-
 “ cording to the Authority they had received of
 “ God, and that the same might be conserved
 “ and established, against the Factions of turbu-
 “ lent Subjects.”

THE Commissioners for the Queen of *Scots*
 having seen and perused this Declaration
 still adhering to their former Protestation, gave
 in the following particular Reply: Informing
 “ That the Pretence of taking Arms against
 “ the Queen, because *Bothwel* was in such Fa-
 “ vour with her, could not warrant their Re-
 “ bellion, since it never was made known to
 “ her Majesty, that he was the Murderer: But
 “ on the contrary, *Bothwel* being indicted and
 “ orderly summoned to undergo the Trial of
 “ Law, he was by the Judgment of his Peers
 “ absolved, and the same Absolution ratified
 “ by Authority of Parliament, where the Prin-
 “ cipals that now accuse him, and had with-
 “ drawn themselves from the Queen’s Obedi-
 “ ence, were present, and not only consented to
 “ his Purgation, but solicited her to take him to
 “ her Husband, as the most worthy to bear
 “ Rule of any other in all the Realm, giving
 “ their Bonds to defend him against all that
 “ should pursue him for the said Crime, as their
 “ Subscriptions would testify. And so neither
 “ before the Marriage with *Bothwel*, nor after
 “ did they or any of them, which had been the
 “ Duty of true Subjects, so much as in Words

“ utter

utter their Dislike of it, or advertise her Majesty of the Suspicions that were taken of him, until they had drawn the Keeper of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the * Provost of that City to their Faction. Then secretly putting themselves in Arms, they suddenly, under Silence of Night, environed the Castle of *Borthwick*, where her Majesty remained; and after she had escaped to *Dunbar*, levied an Army under Pretence to defend the Queen, wherewith invading her Person in the Way betwixt *Dunbar* and *Edinburgh*, they did take her Majesty Captive."

"And whereas they alledge, That her Majesty, preferring the Impunity of *Bothwel* to her own Honour, made him to be conveyed safely away; the same was most untrue, for they themselves sent the Laird of *Grange*, to her Majesty, desiring her to cause *Bothwel* pass out of the Field, as suspected of the King's Murder, till the same might be tried, and that she would go with them and follow the Counsel of the Nobility; which if she would do, they would honour, serve, and obey her as their Princess and Sovereign: Whereunto her Majesty, for the Love she bore to her Subjects, and to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, did willingly assent. In Verification whereof, the said Laird of *Grange* took the Earl of *Bothwel* at the same Time by the Hand, and willed him to depart, giving his Word, that no man should pursue him. So as nothing is more clear, than that

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* Mayor.

“ he passed away by their own Consents; for if
 “ they had been inclined against him only,
 “ would they not have pursued him so long as
 “ he was in the Country? For he remained a
 “ great Space after that Time in his own House,
 “ and might more easily have been taken there,
 “ than on the Seas, where they, in a coloured
 “ Manner, did pursue him. From whence all
 “ Men of sound Judgment might perceive, that
 “ they cared not what became of him, if so they
 “ might advance their own ambitious Purposes
 “ and Designs.”

As to that Charge against the Queen, of hav-
 ing used them with Threats and Menaces, it was
 answered, “ That, if it was true, it could not
 “ be thought strange, considering their unduti-
 “ ful Behaviour, and the rude and vile Usage
 “ her Majesty suffered by them. For when the
 “ Earl of *Morton*, at her Highness first coming
 “ to them, had reverently, as it became him,
 “ said, Madam, here is the Place where your
 “ Grace should be, and we will honour and serve
 “ you as truly, as ever any of the Nobility of the
 “ Realm did any of your Progenitors in former
 “ Times; ratifying thereby the Promise made
 “ by the Laird of *Grange*, in their Names to
 “ her Majesty; and that she trusting their Speech-
 “ es had gone with him to *Edinburgh*, they first
 “ lodged her in a Citizen’s House, and, contrary
 “ to their Promises, did most rudely entreat her;
 “ whereupon she sent *Lethington* her Secretary,
 “ and made Offer unto them, that for any
 “ Thing wherewith they or any of the Subjects
 “ were offended, she was content the same
 “ should be reformed by the Nobility and E-

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“ states of the Realm, her Highness being pre-
 “ sent and permitted to answer for herself: Yet
 “ would they not hearken once to the Motion;
 “ but in the Night, secretly, and against her
 “ Will, carried her to *Lochlevin*, and put her
 “ in Prison.”

As to that Clause of her Majesty's being wearied with the Toils of Government, and that she thereupon did voluntarily resign or abdicate the Kingdom in Favour of the Prince her Son, and appointed the Earl of *Murray* his Regent during his Minority. It was replied, “ That the Falshood thereof did many Ways appear. For
 “ first, her Majesty is neither decayed by Age,
 “ nor weakened by Sicknes, but (praised be God) both in Mind and Body able to discharge the most weighty Affairs. As also the
 “ Truth is, that the Earl of *Athole*, the Lairds of *Tullibardin* and *Lethington* (who were of their Council) sent *Robert Melvil* to her Majesty, advising her to subscribe the Letter of Resignation, and what else should be presented unto her, to save her own Life, and avoid the Death which was assuredly prepared for her, if she should happen to refuse the same;
 “ and at the same Time, the same Gentleman did bring to her Majesty a Letter written by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Ambassador of *England*, requesting her Highness, for the Reasons aforesaid, to set her Hand to whatsoever they should desire of her. To whom her Majesty answered, That she should follow his Counsel; praying him to declare to her dearest Sister the Queen of *England*, how she was used by her Subjects, and that the

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“ Resigna-

“ Resignation of the Crown made by her, was
 “ extorted by Fear, which her Highness doub-
 “ ed not but the said Sir *Nicholas* performed.”
 Farther, it is notorious, “ That the Lord
 “ *Lindsay*, at the presenting of the Letters of
 “ Resignation unto her Majesty, did menace to
 “ put her in a closer Prison, if she refused to
 “ put her Hand to the same, adding, that in
 “ that Case worse would shortly follow; and
 “ that her Highness never looked what was
 “ in the Writings presented, but signed the
 “ same with many Tears, protesting, that if
 “ ever she should recover her Liberty, she would
 “ disavow that which he compelled her at that
 “ Time to do. And to testify that the said Re-
 “ signation was made against her Will, the
 “ Laird of *Lochlevin*, who was then her Keep-
 “ er, refused to subscribe it as a Witness, and
 “ did obtain a Certificate under her Majesty’s
 “ own Hand, declaring, that he refused to be
 “ present at the said Resignation.”

“ Neither can that Renunciation by any Rea-
 “ son be thought good, considering that no
 “ Portion of Revenue was reserved for her to
 “ live upon, neither was her Liberty granted,
 “ or any Security given her of her Life. All
 “ which weighed in the Balance of Reason, will
 “ to Men of indifferent Judgment make mani-
 “ fest, that the alledged Dimission, so unlaw-
 “ fully procured, can never prejudice her Ma-
 “ jesty in her royal Estate: Especially consider-
 “ ing, that at her first Escape out of Prison,
 “ she did revoke the same, and in Presence of
 “ a great Part of the Nobility at *Hamilton*, by a
 “ solemn Oath, declared, that what she had
 “ done

done was by Compulsion, and upon just Fear of her Life."

Concerning the Coronation of the young Prince, it was urged, " That the same was most unorderly done; because there being in the Realm, above an hundred Earls, Bishops, and Lords, having Voice in Parliament, (of whom the greatest Part at least, ought to have consented thereto, it being an Action of such Consequence) four Earls and six Lords (the same that were present at her Apprehension) with one Bishop and two or three Abbots and Priors, were only assisting: And of the same Number some did put in a Protestation; that nothing then done, should prejudice the Queen, or her Successor, by reason she was at that Time a Captive. Nor can any Man think, if the Dimission had been willingly given by her Highness, she would ever have nominated the Earl of *Murray* Regent, there being many others more lawful, and having better Right thereto than he, of whom some have been Governors of the Realm in former Times, and during her Majesty's Minority had worthily exercised that Place."

To the Ratification in Parliament, it was replied, " That the Principals of the Nobility dissented; and put in their Protestations, both to the Lords of the Articles, and in the open Parliament against their Proceedings, affirming that they would never agree to any Thing that might hurt the Queens Majesty's Person, her Crown and royal Estate, further than her Highness herself, being at Liberty, would approve."

Lastly, as to the Pretence of being universally obeyed, and of all Things being justly administered, it was answered, " Both these were equally untrue. For a great Part of the Nobility never acknowledged another Authority than that of the Queen's, keeping and holding their Courts in her Majesty's Name. And for the Administration of Affairs, it is apparent that Wickedness did never reign more, and with less Controlment in the Realm; Murder, Bloodshed, with Theft and Robbery every where abounding; Policy destroyed, Churches thrown down, honourable Families ruined, and true Men bereft of their Goods, for satisfying the Soldiers hired by them to maintain the Regent's usurped Authority, the like whereof hath not been seen nor heard for many Ages before. In Regard whereof, they in Behalf of the Queen of Scotland, their Mistress, did earnestly request the Support and Assistance of the Queen of England, her Cousin, for restoring her to her Crown, and for suppressing the Rebels that had attempted against her." To these Reasons, the Commissioners thought fit to add (the Original being then in Queen Elizabeth's Hands) an attested Copy of a Protestation made by the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, immediately after King Henry's Death, and which ran in these Words:

" Forasmuch as *Murray* and others, to cloak their Rebellion against the Queen, whose Authority they arrogate to themselves, do openly calumniate her as guilty of the Murder of her Husband: we do publickly protest and

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witness these Things, following: In the
 Month of *December* 1566, when the
 Queen staid at *Craigmillar*, *Murray* and
Lethington acknowledged before us, that
Morton, *Lindsay* and *Ruthven*, slew *Da-*
vid Rizio, to no other Intent than to save
Murray, who was at that Time to be pro-
 scribed. Therefore, that they might not
 seem unthankful, they much desired that *Mor-*
ton and the rest who lived in Exile, for the
 Murder of *David*, might be brought Home
 again.] But this they said could not be effect-
 ed, unless the Queen might be divorced from
 her Husband; which they promised to bring
 to pass, so as we would give our Assent. After-
 wards *Murray* promised to me *Huntly*, that
 my Inheritance should be restored unto me,
 and that I should be in eternal Favour with the
 Exiles, if I would favour the Divorce. Then
 went we to *Bothwel*, that he might also con-
 sent. Lastly, we came unto the Queen, and
Lethington, in Name of us all, earnestly en-
 treated her, that *Morton*, *Lindsay*, and *Ruth-*
ven, might have their Banishment remitted.
 The King's Errors and Offences against the
 Queen and the Realm, he aggravated with
 much Sharpness of Words, and shewed that
 it mainly concerned the Queen and State, that
 there should forthwith be a Divorce, foras-
 muchas the King and Queen could not live
 together in *Scotland* with Security. She an-
 swered, That she would rather withdraw her-
 self for a Time into *France*, until her Hus-
 band did acknowledge the Errors of his
 Youth; for she would not, that any Thing
 should

“ should be done, which might be prejudicial
 “ to her Son, or dishonourable to herself. Here-
 “ to *Lethington* replied. We which are of
 “ your Council will look to that. But I com-
 “ mand you, (*said she*) that you do nothing which
 “ may blemish my Honour, or burden my
 “ Conscience; let the Matter remain as it is,
 “ till God remedy it from above: That which
 “ you think will be for my Good, may perhaps
 “ turn to my Hurt. To whom *Lethington* said,
 “ Leave the Matter to us, and you shall see
 “ nothing shall be done, but what is just, and
 “ approveable by Authority of Parliament.
 “ Whereupon, seeing the King was murdered by
 “ wicked Hands within few Days after, we out of
 “ the inward Testimony of our-Consciences, do
 “ hold it most certain that *Murray* and *Lethington*
 “ were the Authors, Contrivers, and Persuaders
 “ of this Regicide, whosoever were the Actors
 “ of the same.”

This long and just Reply for the injured
 Queen, put *Murray* and his Associates to their
 last Shifts, and made them very tardy in prepa-
 ring and giving in their Answers; nor were
 any of her few Friends and Well-wishers, gladder
 of their being thus straitned, than the Duke of
Norfolk. This great Man had ever favoured her
 Title to the Succession, and saw nothing else
 was aimed at by this present Method, but to
 brand her with eternal Infamy, thereby to ex-
 clude both her and her Son from their just Right.
 His chief Concern at present was how to behave
 himself warily in this Affair; for in determining
 any Thing against her, (and it was talked that
 Queen *Elizabeth* was now in earnest resolved to

and the Controversy) he run the Hazard of weakening that Title, and of acting contrary to the Dictates of his Conscience; and by deciding in her Favours, he inevitably drew upon himself the Hatred of his own Sovereign, and of all such as dislike the *Scots* Queen upon the Score of Religion, or the implicate Belief of her pretended Guilt. There was too, at the same Time, a Project in his Head of marrying this unfortunate Princess, and of fastening his Daughter upon the young King her Son; for being the first Peer of *England*, having a great Interest at Court, Master of his Sovereign's Ear, and courted by her greatest Favourites, backed with a plentiful Estate, being equally esteemed by Papists and Protestants; and having many powerful Relations, and a vast Jurisdiction in the North, nothing seemed above his Ambition, nor too distant from his Merit; for with all these numerous Advantages, he possessed the Character of a religious Man, honest, mild, and sincere: Being resolved therefore to embrace the lucky Opportunity of gaining *Murray* to his Interest, who began to repent himself of his coming into *England*, and the Task he had undertaken; and plainly saw that unless the *English* Queen proved extremely partial, it would go hard with him to support his Cause, by forging Crimes which would never bear the Test of unbiassed Judges. To accomplish this, he thought fit in the first Place, to smooth the Way by attacking *Levington*, whom he found naturally inclined to plotting and Intriguing, and fond of encountering Difficulties, as Tools that served to sharpen his Wit, of which he had a very great Stock; but

but above all, because he saw him not very fond of assisting *Murray*, and knew the Earl would in his own Defence accuse boldly, though without just Grounds, as one that had experienced the Truth of that Maxim, *Calumniare audacter*, &c. Having therefore one Day met him opportunely alone, after the common Compliments were over, he fell at last by a feigned Chance upon the Business of *Queen Mary*, and frankly told the Secretary, " That he had ever esteemed him a Man of good Sense, but that his Conduct at present agreed not with the good Opinion he had hitherto entertained of his Discretion, since he thought it reasonable to accuse his Sovereign criminally, and before a foreign Judicature, and by that Means tacitely confessed *England* a competent Judge of all Actions committed by the Princes of *Scotland* within their own Dominions: That for his Part, he did not at present foresee how they would be able afterwards to answer for this inhuman Act, since by bringing the Mother's Honesty publicly in Question they manifestly endangered the Title of the Son to the *English* Crown." This was just as much as *Lethington* wished, he had strenuously opposed *Murray's* Proceeding in this shameful Manner against the Queen, and informed the Duke, " That being surrounded with a Company of Sycophants, Slaves to Avarice, and to *England*, he had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from the scandalous Undertaking, having waited upon him thither, only in Hopes to prevail upon him to desist, and not to serve him in the Design; and therefore

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begged his Grace not to believe him, whom he had once honoured with a Place in his Esteem, rashly guilty of a Crime which he had not only abhorred himself, but faithfully endeavoured to reform in others." The Duke, after a very generous Reply, asked him if the Regent was at Bottom a Man of Honour, and if he thought him fit to be trusted with a Secret of importance; and being answered in the Affirmative, then, said he, I shall try him Tomorrow. A secret Meeting was easily procured, and the Conference betwixt the two Peers began with their Acquaintance *, and first Contract of friendship at *Leith*, in the Year 1560, when the *French* were beaten out of *Scotland*. Each of them protested for a Continuance of the same intimacy, and *Murray* having solemnly sworn secrecy, the Duke began with the same honesty and freedom he had used to *Lethington*, and told him, He would ever make it the Business of his Life, to approve himself a faithful Subject to his Queen; but was heartily sorry to find her so very regardless of her People's Happiness after her Death, in not determining the Succession to the Crown during her Life; and tho' her Parliament had frequently attempted to do something in that necessary Affair; yet she constantly had testified an Aversion to the Proposal, as if she had openly declared to the World, she valued not how many Lives might be lost in disputing the Title to her Crown, when she could wear it no longer herself. That he knew the same undoubtedly

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“ edly belonged to the Queen of Scots, and
 “ wondered that, even tho’ she had really suf-
 “ fered Violence to be done to her Husband,
 “ he should therefore think it reasonable to ex-
 “ pose and dishonour her in *England*, to the
 “ certain Prejudice of her Right of Succession,
 “ and the Exclusion of her Son, upon whom
 “ himself, and many *English*, had already fix-
 “ ed their Eyes, as their future Sovereign *.
 Withal assuring him, “ That he could not, nor
 “ would Queen *Elizabeth* determine any Thing
 “ for or against Queen *Mary*, even tho’ she ap-
 “ peared wholly innocent, or undeniably guilt-
 “ ry; and if in the next Meeting he asked the
 “ Commissioners, if they had full Authority
 “ in Case of Conviction, to pronounce a defini-
 “ tive Sentence, he would easily be satisfied in
 “ the Truth of what he now informed him.”

This Proposal was too much for *Murray*’s
 Interest not to be readily embraced. He now
 feared more than ever, to find a second Proof
 of Queen *Elizabeth*’s singular Cunning, and that
 she would again serve her own Ends, make his
 Rebellion the Tool of her Purposes, and then
 leave him to shift for himself. Besides, he was
 hardly put to it, to make up his Charge against
 the Queen, or to put a Face of Probability and
 Likelihood upon the Crimes he was to object a-
 gainst her: And this kept him at once from the
 Danger of the one, and Labour of the other.
 The next Day therefore, as soon as the Com-
 missioners had assembled, and the Duke had re-
 quired him to give in his Accusation, or Answer

* *Mel. ibid.*

to the Reply made for Queen *Mary*; he craved first to be informed, " If his Grace and those in Commission with him, and sent down to hear their Debates, had full Power in the Cause of the *Scots* Queen, to pronounce guilty or not guilty. If her Crimes should be made apparent by the Papers he was to give in, whether she should be delivered into his Hands, or detained in *England*; and if Queen *Elizabeth* would for the future maintain the Authority of the young King, and the Regency at present established in his own Person."

It was answered, " That their Commission did not extend so far as to enable them to dispose of the Queen of *Scots*, or to answer every Article he proposed, but that Queen *Elizabeth's* royal Word and Promise were sufficient Securities."

Murray replied, " That the Affair was of the last Consequence: His all lay at Stake. And tho' he doubted not her Affection for the young King, and her good Intentions towards himself as an honest Man, and one that had ventured his Life and Estate for his Preservation, and the Safety of the Country, yet he thought it absolutely necessary for the Security of both, to have those Questions he had now asked, positively and fully resolved, and to see no less than her own Hand and Seal for the Performance of what he required."

This cautious Proceeding appeared with a mysterious Countenance to *Morton* and the rest of his Associates, from whom he had concealed

his Design, * and who had been very busy, forging new Clauses and Circumstances to enforce their first Charge or Declaration, and who had known him formerly so headstrong in the Affair, and all of them looked upon it as a Contrivance of *Lethington's*, whose Honesty was ever suspected by his Party: In the mean time it procured a Delay, and they were on both Sides obliged to wait till the Post had brought them an Answer from Queen *Elizabeth*, to whom the *English* Commissioners had sent a Copy of the Papers given in, and an Account of what *Murray* had demanded.

During this Cessation, or Interval of Business, the Duke was not idle, and found the Regent as kind as he wished him, and readier than he had hoped to embrace his Measures: Yet modestly proposed no more than that they should be for the future, as Sons of one Mother, of the same Religion, having one Aim, keep a faithful and constant Correspondence, and jointly use their Interests in *Scotland* and *England*, for the Service of their Sovereigns, and the Good of both Kingdoms.

Queen *Elizabeth* in the mean time was but indifferently pleased with what had past, and knowing Things might be better done to her Mind at *London*, than at so great a Distance, thought fit not to take any Notice of what *Murray* had urged, but recalled her Commissioners, and required him to come or send (knowing he would not

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* They knew very well; for the like Assurances had been demanded in *June* and *October*, before they would consent to accuse their Sovereign. See the Appendix to the Examination of the Letters to *Bothwell*, pag. 75. 76. 89. 136. 199.

manage a Business of so much Weight by a second Hand) such as he thought fit, to answer what had been charged against him at the Instance of his Queen, and to give sufficient Reasons for what he had done, since what he had hitherto given in, did not plainly appear to be Matter of Fact.

In Obedience to this Letter, *Murray* was forced to trudge up to the *English* Court, where both Parties being met, they found that Princess (because she had suspected *Norfolk*, and would balance his Interest) had added to the Number of her Commissioners, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Leicester*, *Clinton* Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Cecil*, Secretary of State. These pressed *Murray* to proceed in his Accusation: But were answered, as at *York*, that he could do nothing, unless Queen *Elizabeth* gave him her Hand and Seal for the Performance of those Conditions he had mentioned, if he proved the *Scots* Queen guilty.

This Delay very much graveled all his Friends, *Lethington* excepted: But they were not long in the Dark, for *Norfolk* having acquainted Queen *Mary* with what had passed, she unfortunately discovered the Mystery to some of those about her, who were most of them Queen *Elizabeth's* Spies, under the Cloak of Friends and Servants, and these betrayed it to *Morton* from whom the whole Party had it, the factious *Wood* too being employed to communicate the whole to *Cecil* *. The unraveling of this Plot made them double

I 2

their

* *Mel.* p. 97. If *Wood* was employed, it is most likely to have been by *Murray* himself whose Secretary he was.

their Diligence, and *Murray* was equally pressed by the *English* and his Associates to go on in his Charge against the Queen. It is certain he was not very shy in this Matter, his Affairs in *Scotland* called him speedily Home. He found Queen *Elizabeth* was only to be gained this Way; and therefore without that Security he had so long insisted upon, against all the Rules of Honour, and his many solemn Promises to the Duke, he not only suffered the Accusation to be drawn up in the most invective and malicious Terms imaginable, but allowed the same to be carried into Court, where, with a pretended Struggle, and a well feigned Reluctancy, it was at last delivered *. It contained only, after a long Preamble to excuse the Novelty of this Way of proceeding against a crowned Head, some Articles merely conjectural, Decrees made in a tumultuous Assembly of the Estates, and some Love Letters and Verses without mentioning Time or Place, and affirmed to be written with her own Hand, which it was notoriously known *Lethington*, by his own Confession, had often counterfeited. These Things, tho' given in with the utmost Assurance, and heightened with all the Eloquence and Art of the learned *Mr. Buchanan* *, found but little Credit with the Queen of *England* or her Commissioners, tho' that Princess was well enough pleased to know that so many confident Aspersions upon the *Scot's* Queen, would infallibly leave some Stains behind them, not to be easily washed out again, and

* *Camb. B. 1. p. 117.*

* *Camb. ibid.*

and furnished her with Arguments, tho' lame ones, to excuse her constant Confinement, to the Ambassadors of foreign Princes. This however never would have entitl'd the Author to her Protection, had not her Interest oblig'd her to be of his Party; for she was too wise not to look upon him as the worst of Men, who at once defam'd his Sister, his Queen, the Mother of his Prince, and one whom, in his Conscience, he could not but believe innocent. And indeed as the Effect of that Reflexion, he met with no more than indifferent Entertainment at the Court of *England*, and might have found by Experience, that tho' Princes for Interest may sometimes love the Treason, yet they always hate the Traitor.

The Commissioners for the *Scots* Queen, tho' surpriz'd to find so many apparent Falshoods mustered up as undeniable Truths, were nevertheless ready a second Time to give in their Answers: But that Princess, by the Advice of some of her Friends, who saw into the Drift of the *English* Council, recalled that Commission she had given them *, and declined pleading before Judges whom she knew so very partial to her Enemy, unless she might be heard in Person, or have the *French* or *Spanish* Ambassadors added to their Number. This Request, the first Part especially, being allowed to the meanest Shop-lifter, was by many thought very reasonable; but after it had been bandied at Court, it was at last wholly reject'd.

Tho' thus far all Things went on *Murray's*

I 3

Side,

* *Camb. B. 1. p. 117.*

Side, yet he was inexpressibly uneasy *. He had no Money to defray his Charges homeward, and to pay some *English* Debts, under which the Expence of so great a Retinue, and his long Stay, had brought him; and if he had been provided that Way, he was nevertheless afraid of the Duke's mighty Interest in the North, and expected to meet with no less than Death upon the Road, as the Consequence of his Resentment for the Injury he had done him. What added to the Number of his Cares, was, that *Morton* had informed Queen *Elizabeth* of what had passed between him and *Norfolk* *; which, as it taught him to despair of ever being reconciled to that great Man, so it increased the Coldness of that Princess towards him, who, tho' she was often acquainted with his Difficulties, advanced him not one Shilling, but suffered him to continue under the mortifying Disease of an empty Purse, to punish his Treachery to his Friend, and to let him see how entirely he was to depend upon her Will and Pleasure for the meanest Benefits. *Levington* however being wholly innocent in this Matter, still had Access to, and Credit with the Duke, and with the Assistance of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, so far prevailed upon him, that he promised to see him, to be yet his Friend, and to forget what had past. When they met *Murray* endeavoured to make the best Apology he could, but the Duke to save him that Trouble and the Pain of repeating what he thought much needs gall an honest Man, told him he knew

* *Mel.* p. 97.* *Mel.* *ibid.*

his * good Nature had been imposed upon by the Cunning and Artifices of some Members of the English Council, and those about his Person, and if for the future he continued a sincere Friend, it would be easy with their united Interest to defeat all their Designs. The Earl promised very liberally, and scrupled not to be as profuse of his solemn Protestations, as he had been the first Time *, nay so far he carried on the Deceit, that he outstripped the Duke's Wishes, and proposed a Marriage between him and the Queen of Scots, upon the following Conditions, which were calculated in Appearance out of the Reach of Danger, that by the seeming Easiness of the Bait, he might the better fasten him upon the Hook *:

That she should attempt nothing which might be prejudicial to the Queen of England, or to the Children born of her, in the Succession of the Kingdom of England.

That she should enter into a League offensive and defensive, betwixt the two Kingdoms.

That she should establish the Protestant Religion in Scotland. And

That she should receive those who were then her Enemies, into Favour.

But as if all this had not been Proof enough of his affected Sincerity, and as if he had resolved, by the Merit of his future Actions, amply to atone his late Treachery, he would yet go one Step further, and writ to the unfortunate Queen a Let-

* Mel. p. 98.

* Camb. B. 1. p. 127.

* Camb. B. 1. p. 128.

a Letter to the same Purpose, and officiously assured her of his utmost Assistance to accomplish so reasonable a Match. This frank Dealing left the Duke no Room for Suspicion, and being uneasy to see his Friend in Want, he procured him two thousand Pounds from Queen *Elizabeth*, by becoming Surety for the Money, and which by the bye she afterwards obliged him to refund *.

About this very Time *Hamilton Duke of Chastelherault* arrived from *France*, who used his utmost Interest to have *Murray* degraded from his usurped Authority, and justly complained, "That being nearest of Blood to the Crown, and consequently tied to its Interest, a few tumultuous Persons had nevertheless preferred to the highest Dignity in the Kingdom a Man base born, and one whose ambitious Practices rendered him unfit for so great a Trust; adding, That if by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Consent he should be constituted in his Stead, he would speedily put an End to the civil War, and restore his banished Sovereign without Expence of Blood. It was known too that he had worthily acquitted himself in that Post during Queen *Mary's* Minority." But the Queen of *England*, who never failed duly to consult her own Interest, wisely knew, that as a good Countryman, he would not be so very obsequious to the Measures of the *English* Court as she had hitherto found the Earl of *Murray*,

* *Mel.* p. 99.

Murray gave his own Obligation to Queen *Elizabeth* for 5000 l. the 18th January 1568. See *Rymer's Fœdera*, tom. 15. p. 677.

and openly protested she would oppose his Pretensions by Force of Arms.

The Regent had, before this, got his Money, and was ready to return Home flushed with Success; by this new Contract of Friendship with the English Duke, he had secured himself a safe Passage to the Border, paid his Debts, and tricked Queen Mary's Friends into a Belief of his Honesty, who had wanted but the Opportunity of his Journey to dispatch him: However before his Departure he had still one Card more to play, to secure to himself the Stake of Power, which by a packed Senate at Home, and partial Gamesters abroad, who stood as Judges of the Play, he had already got into his Hands. He found Norfolk's Interest very considerable in England, and unless he could procure his Ruin, suspected that some Time or other he might attempt something in Behalf of the Scots Queen, whose Cause he zealously espoused) and cut out more Work for him in Scotland in one Hour, than he should be well able to finish in the whole Course of his Life. However to palliate his repeated Treachery to his Friend, he pretends to Queen Elizabeth, who was too quick-sighted not to pierce through the thin Disguise, a deep Sense of the mighty Favour she had done him, in declaring against his Adversary the Duke of Chastelhaunt; and as if prompted by mere Gratitude, not Self-interest, in Return, acquaints her with

to

* Mel. ibid.

There was little Occasion for Murray's discovering the Matter to her, when both Leicester her Minion, and Cecil her Secretary were both acquainted with it, and active there, in order to ruin the Duke.

every Thing had past between him and unwary *Norfolk* *, promising too when in *Scotland* to send her further Discoveries in the Affair, as soon as he received any Letters from him upon that Subject. It is certain, that Princess was well pleased with this Information; but either because the Proofs were not yet strong enough, or because the Duke's Power was at this Time too formidable to her Council, she thought fit to hide both her Knowledge and Resentment, and to defer the Execution of that Revenge her Fear and Jealousy inspired, till she was sure not to be baffled in the Attempt. In the mean time she dismissed the Informer, with many Assurances of Protection and Friendship, with the additional Satisfaction of seeing every thing that made for the Interest or Honour of Queen *Mary*, carefully stifled and suppressed; and the Bishop of *Ross* who wrote in her Defence, for that, or some other suspicious Allegation, clapt up in the Tower *.

Upon the 2d Day of *February* 1569, he arrived safely at *Edinburgh*, and having speedily mustered a few Troops, with the same Dispatch and Celerity, which he ever shewed in Action, he recovered the Castles of *Driffen* and *Reyston* of which the Loyalists had possessed themselves in his Absence. Upon the twentieth of the same Month came Home the Duke of *Chastellerault*, the Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and the Lord *Herries*. The Duke, by Virtue of his Commission from the Queen, gathered together

* The Bishop of *Ross* was not put in the Tower till October 1571.

that Forces he could raise in so short a Time; but seeing no Manner of Hopes of Assistance from England, and knowing that a civil War was just breaking out in France, resolved to make no other Use of his Arms than to obtain to himself and Friends honourable Conditions of Peace, and the Benefit of living quietly at Home, till indulgent Providence should afford him an Opportunity of serving his Queen and his miserable Country. For which End the Archbishop of St. Andrews was sent to the Regent to procure a safe Meeting, in order to bring their Differences to an Accommodation; and the Time and Place being readily agreed to, after many Disputes on both Sides, the following Articles were drawn up, and mutually signed *, which for the Reader's Satisfaction, I set down in the primitive Stile.

IT is desired for the Part of my Lord Regent, that my Lord Duke and his Adherents shall recognise the King and his Authority, and acknowledge themselves to be his Subjects, and promise unto him Service, Obedience and Fidelity, in all Time coming, as their Sovereign.

IT is required on the Part of the Duke's Grace and his Adherents, that every Nobleman be admitted to have his Place in Council, as their Predecessors have been in all
“ Time

* In the MSS. Copies these Articles are called only the Heads of a Conference, and seem not to have been subscribed.

“ Time of other Princes of this Realm; And
 “ my Lord Regent bearing the King’s Authori-
 “ ty, shall be sworn solemnly, from that Time
 “ forward, to behave himself uprightly and in-
 “ differently to them, as the remanent Noble-
 “ men of this Realm, in all their honest and just
 “ Causes, without Particularity, or Remembrance
 “ of any Offence, conceived amongst them,
 “ during the Time of their Controversies.”

Item, “ That all these who shall be content
 “ in Time coming to behave themselves as faith-
 “ ful Subjects to the King, and acknowledge
 “ their Obedience to him, shall be restored to
 “ their Lands, Bounds, Heritages, and Posses-
 “ sions, notwithstanding the Doom of Forfeiture
 “ faulture led against them. Providing always
 “ that this Benefit shall not extend to them,
 “ that has been forfaulted for Art and Part
 “ of the Slaughter of umquhile the King’s Fa-
 “ ther.”

Item, “ That my Lord Regent, and remanent
 “ Noblemen joined with himself, shall
 “ condescend to sick Heads and Articles, as
 “ may redound to the Queen’s Honour, Advan-
 “ cement and Commodity, and may best
 “ serve her Turn, providing that the same be
 “ not prejudicial to the King nor his Sovereignty,
 “ whereupon depends the Security of all Noble-
 “ men and others, professing themselves to
 “ be his Subjects.”

“ And because my Lord Regent, and others
 “ on his Part, are as well content to yield to
 “ their reasonable Desires foresaid, as to crave
 “ the Performance of his Desire towards
 “ the King’s Obedience at their Hands, and
 “ willeth

"willeth that all come together at a Time, be-
"cause now publick Leisure cannot serve to
"compleat these Things that are necessary to
"be done to the Queen, it is thought conveni-
"ent that on the 10th Day of *April* next to
"come, shall be assembled and conveyed to-
"gether at *Edinburgk*, in quiet and peaceable
"Manner, thir Persons following, They are
"to say, my Lord Regent, my Lord Duke,
"the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Morton*,
"Mar, *Glencairn*, and my Lord *Herries*."

"And in Case of Absence of any of thir
"nine Persons, by Sicknes or other lawful Im-
"pediment, an other Nobleman of that Party
"shall be chosen to supply his Place. And there
"in friendly Manner to treat, conclude, and a-
"gree, upon sick Heads as shall be performed
"to the Queen, and what the saids Persons
"shall find redound to her Honour, (without
"Prejudice to the King) the haill Noblemen on
"both Sides, shall condescend thereto. And
"for the Security of the coming of the Nobili-
"ty foresaid, my Lord Regent promises on his
"Honour, that they shall be skaithless, and
"without Danger, in their coming, remain-
"ing, and returning.

Item, "It is agreed that my Lord Duke of *Cha-*
"*stelherault*, nor his Adherents, shall not chal-
"lenge, use, nor execute no Authority of Lieu-
"tenantry be any Commission of the Queen, or
"that any Impediment be made be them a-
"gainst the King's Authority in the mean time;
"and ordains Forces of sensible Men on all
"Sides to be dissolved, that no Injury be done
"to any Subject be Way of Deed."

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"The

“ The Regent promises to perform upon
 “ his Honour, so far as concerns his Part; and
 “ therefore wills the Duke’s Grace, the Earl
 “ of *Cassils*, and my Lord *Herries* to enter suf-
 “ ficient Pledges presently, for Performance of
 “ their Parts, to wit: For the Duke, one of my
 “ Lord Duke’s Sons, for the Earl of *Cassils*, the
 “ said Earl’s Brother, and for my Lord *Herries*,
 “ the said Lord’s eldest Son.”

These Articles (as I have already said) being mutually signed, they went all to *Stirling* to see the young King, where they were splendidly entertained by the Regent and his Friends; but because none of the Duke’s Sons would enter themselves as Pledges, still distrusting *Murray’s* Honesty, the Archbishop willingly supplied that Want, and *Cassils* and *Herries* staid there till their Securities came to relieve them.

From thence the Regent returned to *Edinburgh*, where either to establish by a Shew of Mildness that Power he had obtained by Treason and Force, or to gain Credit with those whom he had already resolved to betray; he dismissed all those Prisoners he had taken at *Langside*, and amongst the rest those he had condemned; having first obliged all of them, (*Bothwel-haugh* excepted, who had made his Escape) to find sufficient Bail for their peaceable Behaviour for the future, and for their Appearance again when required.

The Earl of *Huntly* in the mean time, as the Queen’s Lieutenant in the North was proceeding with the utmost Rigour against such as disowned her Authority, and had Forces sufficient to have reduced the Provinces of *Mearns*, *Angus*,
 and

and *Fife*: But being advertised of the Treaty already begun, and to be concluded in *April*, he desisted from Execution, whilst on the other Hand the Regent, who was never idle and lazy when his Interest called him to Action, marched suddenly into *Cliddisdale*, and there demolished the Houses of *White-haugh* and *Mangerton*.

According to Articles, most of the Persons concerned met at *Edinburgh* upon the 10th of *April*, to treat at large of a thorow Agreement, and especially of such Points as related to the banished Queen. Being all in one Room, the Regent first arose, and drawing out a Paper, or Schedule, asked the Duke whether he would instantly subscribe an Acknowledgment of the King's Authority, or not? Tho' this Method of proceeding was very surprizing, and the Question was proposed with an Air that was not very obliging but rather imperious and haughty, yet the Duke very modestly and calmly replied, " That he and his Friends had laid down their
" Arms conditionally; nor could he think him-
" self, or them obliged to subscribe their Al-
" legiance to the King, unless, according to
" these Conditions, the Regent at the same
" Time should grant what might be reasonably
" demanded in Behalf of the distressed Queen,
" and the Mother of their Sovereign; and there-
" fore hoped he would not proceed to Acts of Force
" and Fraud too, since not only he and his
" Friends, but their Hostages likewise were in his
" Hands; desiring him to remember that they had
" religiously observed every Article of the late
" Treaty, and had come secure and unarmed, as
" to a Friend, faithfully relying upon his Honour,

“ and those Assurances of Safety he had given
 “ them in the most solemn Manner under his
 “ own Hand.”

To this easy Remonstrance of the Duke's, *Murray* made no Manner of Return, but against all the Laws of Honour, to express it in no harsher Terms, sent him and my Lord *Herries* both Prisoners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the first after eight Days close Confinement in his own Lodgings, and the second that very Night*.

In *May* following he went to *Stirling*, where, as a Proof of that Zeal which he ever pretended for the Advancement of the true Religion, four Priests of *Dumblane* were apprehended, and being convicted of having said Mass against an express Act 'of Parliament, were sentenced to be hanged; but that by a Shew of Mercy he might atone his late Breach of Faith to *Hamilton* and his Friends, and prove his Charity extensive, he graciously pardoned the poor Criminals; only to satisfy his Trusty Agents the Mob, they were chained to the Market-cross, with their Vestments, Books and Chalice, where they were but scurvily enough treated by the zealous Rabble, who pelted them for the Space of an Hour with Stones and other Marks of Anger and Disgrace, and then had their Vestments, &c. burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman.

From *Stirling*, his next Step was to *St. Andrews*, where those who came under his Lash escaped not so easily as the Priests had done, for *Nickneven*, a notable Sorceress (or so reputed)

was

* Lord *Herries* was imprisoned on *Saturday* the 16th, and the Duke on *Sunday* the 17th of *April*.

was condemned and burnt, and *Paris*, a French-
man, hanged for the Murder of the late King,
tho' he denied the Fact. In this City too, *Wil-*
liam Stuart, Lord Lyon, fell unluckily into his
Hands, by relying too much upon his own In-
nocence, and was hanged upon a Gibbet for
some doubtful Points of Necromancy and Witch-
craft, which were but lamely enough proved a-
gainst him. This unfortunate Gentleman was
a bigotted Loyalist, and, as I have already said,
had escaped Death narrowly, at *Stirling*, where
he had been tried for a Plot against *Murray's*
Life, which gave Occasion to that Earl's Ene-
mies, and not without just Grounds, to alledge,
"He had given the *Lyon* very foul Play for his
Life, and caught him with an enchanted Net,
"when he could not by fair Means destroy
"him."

In the Month of *June*, *Thomas* Lord *Boyd*
came from *England*, with Letters to *Murray*
(who was then returned to *Edinburgh*) from
Queen *Mary*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *Nicholas*
Throgmorton, and others who espoused her In-
terest, to put him in Mind of his Agreement
with them when in *England*, and desiring him,
"Speedily to appoint Judges for cognoscing
"her Marriage with *Bothwel*; who, if they
"found it contracted against the Laws, might
"declare the same to be void."

Much about this Time, it was strongly ru-
moured, and often posted up upon the Market-
cross, Church Doors, and other conspicuous
Places of the City, "That the Regent had en-
tered into a private Contract with Queen *E-*
lizabeth when he was in *England*, in which he
K 3. " stood

“ stood bound, for her Protection and Assistance
 “ against Queen *Mary* and her Adherents, to
 “ deliver into her Hands the Castle of *Edinburgh*
 “ and *Stirling*, with the Fort of *Dumbarton*, as
 “ soon as the same should be recovered from
 “ the Loyalists; and in Return, (besides the Ad-
 “ vantage already mentioned) if the King died
 “ without Issue, he should be proclaimed King
 “ of *Scotland*, and supported in that Usurpati-
 “ on, providing always that he paid Homage
 “ for the same to the Crown of *England*.” This
 Report, true or false I cannot determine, had
 gained universal Credit, and being added to the
 Guilt of his late Injustice to *Hamilton*, and to the
Lyon, served to increase the Number of his Ene-
 mies. But to return to the Letters.

Boyd could procure no other Answer from
 him, but, “ That if Queen *Mary* was so eager
 “ for a Divorce, she might write to the King
 “ of *Denmark* to do Justice upon *Bothwell* for
 “ the Murder of her late Husband, and save her-
 “ self the Labour of a tedious Process in *Scot-*
 “ *land*.” In the mean time before he gave this
 Answer, which would too plainly have ex-
 posed his Designs, he dispatched his Secretary
Mr. Wood to Queen *Elizabeth*, with those Letters
 he had received from the *Scots* Queen and *Norfolk*,
 and to inform her of the current Report at Home
 of the Contract concerning the Castles of *Edin-*
burgh, and *Stirling* &c. *. The *English* Queen
 was glad enough of the Opportunity he had put
 into her Hands of being revenged upon the Duke,
 but was displeased that he should have sent a
 Man

* *Mel.* p. 99

Man of so mean a Character as *Wood*; one who wanted common Prudence as well as Birth, and who had nothing to recommend him to publick Employment, but the scurvy Qualities of a furious Zeal, and a factious Head: And indeed to excuse this seeming Indiscretion, he was forced to send one *Pitcairn* to supply his Place. However, that she might not neglect her Interest, she writ instantly to the Duke to come to Court, who suspecting *Murray's* Honesty, and that he had again betrayed him, posted immediately to Secretary *Cecil*, and asked his Advice; but being assured by him that there was no Danger, he went securely to wait upon the Queen, and was by her Guards seized and sent to Tower. It is more than probable that if *Cecil* had not soothed him into the Net, Queen *Elizabeth* would not have found it so easy to have destroyed this great Man; but coming unarmed, and with few or none of his Friends about him, he fell a cheap Sacrifice to her Jealousy and Resentment. He was sometime after this brought to his Trial, and by a Stretch of Law was sentenced, and beheaded on *Tower-hill*, for affecting the *English* Crown, of which his Judges found him guilty by Way of Inference, for having endeavoured to marry the *Scots* Queen who had once assumed the Arms of that Kingdom.

Norfolk's Imprisonment was not the only Benefit *Murray* reaped by sending *Wood* into *England*; for Queen *Elizabeth* being now tied to his Interest by her own, and this notable Piece of Service, immediately removed Queen *Mary* further off from the *Scottish* Borders, and confined her to *Coventry*, under the Custody of *Talbot* and

and *Hastings* Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Huntington*, and, contrary to the common Maxim, *Conscia mens recti*, &c. and to keep the jealous *Scots* from distrusting her Friend's Honesty, in what so nearly concerned the Honour and Independency of their Country, she published a Declaration, protesting on the Word of a Queen, "That
 " the Contract so much talked of in *Scotland*,
 " was utterly false and forged by such as were
 " Enemies to the Tranquility of both King-
 " doms *." The Loyalists seeing now no Manner of Hopes of Assistance from *England*, but on the contrary their Enemies daily and openly encouraged, and wanting *Hamilton*, upon whom they had relied for Help, they began to think of quitting the Field. *Huntly* had not yet disbanded his Troops, but stood out only to procure an ample Pardon for himself, his Vassals, and those Gentlemen who were concerned with him as the Queen's Lieutenant. *Murray* who had found Slight more serviceable to his Interest of late, than Force, easily agreed to all the Conditions required; but no sooner saw the Earl's Friends dispersed and unarmed than he hastened to *Aberdeen*, whither he instantly summoned all *Huntly's* Adherents, and against all Ties, religious and civil, obliged them to compound for their Crime of Rebellion, as he termed it, at such unreasonable Rates, and exacted such prodigious Sums of Money from them, that most, (if not all) of them were compleatly beggar'd, and rendered unable for the future to manage a War against him

* *Camb. B. 1. p. 126.* This Declaration or Proclamation bears Date the 22d of *January* 1568, before *Murray* was come out of *England*, and is a meer Prevarication,

him. Some Time after, *Argyle* likewise made his Peace, but his Friends met with kinder Treatment than *Huntly's*, which again revived the common Belief, that *Glencairn* had at first deceived him from his Loyalty, and that he had all along hid Rebellion under the Mask of a pretended Allegiance to his Queen, which, as they said, appeared too plainly at the Battle of *Langside*.

Whilst these Things were acting, a new Story was trumped up to amuse the Mob, "That *Norfolk* had escaped out of the Tower; that his Friends had set Queen *Mary* at Liberty, and that they were preparing with a mighty Army to invade *Scotland*."

This Fiction, tho' it had not the Face of Truth, yet failed not to give *Murray* some Uneasiness, who drunk with his prosperous Fortune, or with the Multiplicity and continued Hurry of Business, was become jealous, cruel, weak and covetous, fearful of his own Shadow, persuaded to any Thing by those about him, and, like all declining Tyrants, grown a Burden even to his own Followers and Partners of his Crimes: However, to prevent these imaginary Dangers which he believed threatened him, he writes to those of the Nobility in whom he most confided, to meet him at *Stirling*, to give their Advice and Concurrence in what concerned the publick Safety. The Earls of *Athole* and *Crawfurd*, as they were coming to the Convention, or Grand-council, chanced to meet with Secretary *Lethington* at *Dumblane*, and there spent a whole Day together in Hunting. *Murray* informed of this Meeting, tho' purely accidental, instead of reaping

ing a Cure, found his Disease encrease upon him and immediately apprehends they are drawing up Schemes to facilitate the Queen's Return, and accomplish his Destruction. What encrease his Jealousy of the Secretary was, because they were not then in good Terms; for when *Boyle* came from *England*, *Murray* had secretly designed to secure the Secretary, and to have brought him to a publick Trial, for conspiring with the Duke of *Norfolk* to effect the Restoration of the banished Queen: But he, being no Stranger to the Regent's Humour and Practices, had carefully kept himself out of his Reach, lived mostly in the North, and rarely went Abroad, but when his Friends were about him. But to return from this short Digression, *Murray's* Fear working upon his distracted Judgment, and, as one conscious to himself of many Crimes is prone to suspect others, he looked upon this Concealment of his own as Matter of Fact, and believing *Levington* the sole Manager and Contriver of this airy Plot, (tho' he had but few Hours to rid himself of the dreadful Enemy) with the Assistance of his good Friend *Morton*, who was no Novice in Matters of that Kind, he made a Shift to form a real Counterplot to defeat one which had only obtained a Being in his own Imagination.

When the Council met, just as they were beginning upon the Affairs of the Publick, the Door-keeper informed them that a Gentleman called *Thomas Crawford*, and who had served the Earl of *Lenox*, craved to be instantly admitted, having Business of very great importance to communicate to their Lordships. Every Body, (*Murray* and *Morton* excepted) expected

might

mighty Matters, and were indeed strangely surprised to hear the Gentleman when called in, accuse *Lethington* as the Author of, at least accessory to, the Murder of the late King. The Secretary, who easily fathomed the Depth of this Contrivance, seemed of all the Company most affected with this Accusation, and rising from his Chair, after a long Harangue extolling his Services to, and Affection for his Country, delivered with an equal Portion of Assurance and Eloquence, offered to give in immediate Bail, to answer according to Law for the Crime with which he was charged. *Crawfurd* replied, that the Authors of the Regicide could never be brought to suffer an exemplary Punishment, if those who out of Zeal for the royal Family, and detestation of so barbarous a Fact, informed against them, should be over-ruled, and have that Justice denied them which the Law allowed; for he humbly conceived, my Lord Secretary being accused of high Treason, it was unprecedented and wholly new to admit him to Bail, but according to the common Custom in such cases he should be detained a close Prisoner till tried and condemned as guilty, or acquitted as innocent, and the Informer rewarded or punished, if he made good the Charge, or was found guilty. In short the Point was too ticklish. No body esteemed it safe to plead in his Behalf; and the Secretary was immediately sent Prisoner with a strong Guard to the City of *Edinburgh*.

At the same time Messengers were dispatched to *Fife*, by *Murray's* Order, to apprehend Sir *James Balfour* and his Brother, as suspected of too much Loyalty and Affection to the Queen's Inter-

Interest. These two were committed to the Castle of *Stirling*. But finding he could not fasten as much Guilt upon Sir *James*, (who had wisely bribed Mr. *Wood* to make all Things easy) as would excuse to the World his taking from him that Sum he had given him upon his Surrender of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, he and his Brother were in few Days let out upon Bail to appear again when required. The Lord *Seton* too was commanded to enter himself at *Edinburgh*, and having obeyed, was shortly there after sent to *St. Andrews*. These arbitrary and unjust Proceedings, which *Murray* hoped would strengthen his Authority, served only to lessen that Reputation and Credit, his Cunning and Diligence had at first acquired, and to encrease the Number of his Enemies. For *Grange*, who had done him many signal Services, and always affected a greater Stock of Honesty than his Neighbours, and was indeed commonly esteemed a Man of more Integrity than any of his Party began now not only to abandon him, but to detest him for his repeated Crimes, of which he could foresee no End; and justly fearing that he aimed at no less than *Lethington's* Life went in the Night-time, with some of the stoutest of his Garrison, and brought him to the Castle. This unexpected Attempt was very surprising, and prevented not only *Lethington's* Death, but *Grange's* own Ruin at that Time. For *Murray's* Design of imprisoning the Secretary in the City, was only by that Means to draw *Grange* out of the Castle, to receive him from his Keepers, and then by detaining both in Custody, been able to perform his Promise to

the Laird of *Drumquhassil*, with whom, at *Morton's* Instance, he had bargained for the Government of the Castle: Nor does there appear any other solid Reason for this certain Intention of *Murray's*, *Grange* having always served him faithfully, but that "he was become jealous and distrustful of all Mankind:" However, in case this Plot had miscarried, *Morton*, who hated him for some ill Offices he had done him in *Rizio's* Affair, had suborned four private Centinels, of the Name of *Douglas*, to assassinate him the first Time he offered to venture his Person abroad, or into the City.

Murray being thus unexpectedly baulk'd, was forced to dissemble his Resentment, that all the World might not know he had at once lost a considerable Fort, and a more considerable Friend; and the better to conceal his Misfortune, ordered a Process of High Treason to be commenced against the Secretary, that if he could not reach his Life, he might at least affect his Estate, which could not, as his Person, be confined within the Compass of a Castle. This, instead of mending the Matter, made it worse; for *Grange* sent a Trumpet publicly to desire that another Process might be likewise commenced against the Earl of *Morton*, and Mr. *Archibald Douglas* for the very same Crime, and to challenge the last of these to a single Combat, upon that Account. The Messenger brought another too upon the same Head, (King *Henry's* Murder) to the Earl of *Morton*, from the Lord *Herries*, who was still in the Castle with the Duke of *Chastelherault*. But neither of these Challenges were answered; that very Evening the

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Lord *Home* was commanded to retire out of the City, to oblige his Enemy the Earl of *Morton*, which cooled that Lord's Affection not only to *Murray*, but to the whole Party.

Whilst Affairs were in this Posture in *Scotland*, a Rebellion broke out in the North of *England*, managed by the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, probably to attempt something in Behalf of the *Scots* Queen, and in Hopes of Assistance from the oppressed Loyalists in *Scotland*; but wanting Money, (the Support of a lawful Government as well as of Rebellion) they were forced to betake themselves to Flight. *Murray*, whose Cause, tho' of the very same Nature, had hitherto been supported by the Queen of *England*, suddenly musters some Troops and hastens to the Border, officiously to serve that Princess, by barring the Fugitives a Shelter in *Scotland*. Some Days before he got thither, the Earl of *Northumberland* had crossed the *Tweed*, and was very kindly entertained by the *Elliot*s, who endeavoured to conceal him, as a Man that had fled into their Country for Protection, tho' pursued for a bad Cause, and from thence to have conveyed him safely to the Castle of *Dumbarton*. But *Murray*, who stood not upon Punctilios of Honour, being informed by his Spies whither the Earl had betaken himself, marched all Night, and about Sun rising surrounded the House. The *Elliot*s defended themselves very stoutly, and amongst others of the Regents Followers, had the Fortune to kill one Captain *Borthwick*, but being overpowered by the Enemy who trebled their Number, the unfortunate Earl was taken Prisoner, and sent under

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under a strong Guard to the Castle of *Lochlevin*, from whence he was afterwards sold by *Morton* * to his incensed Queen, who struck off his Head, as a Proof, that " To Traitors nothing can be dishonourable, and to the rebellious no Crime unjust."

For this and his Treachery to *Norfolk*, his Breach of Faith to *Chastelherault* and *Huntly*, and his Injustice to the *Lyon* and *Lethington*, but more particularly for his Cruelty to all the Queen's loyal Subjects, he became so universally hated by all just Men, and was so generally abandoned, even by those he had obliged and raised from nothing, that he now appeared abroad with fewer Attendants than a private Subject, and was so much dispirited, that his Enemies insulted him, unpunished, even to his Face. Amongst these was *James Hamilton* of *Bothwell-haugh*, who openly and avowedly threatened to be revenged upon the bastard Regent, for so he always called him: And tho' he had often mentioned the Method of effectuating this Revenge, and was known to be always in Readiness for the Execution, yet no Man was at the Pains to prevent the Blow. *Morton* now managed all the publick Business, and reaped the Benefit of *Murray's* Toil, who had wasted himself in the Purchase, and was no more that active formidable Man, his Enemies had once seen him. All his Flatterers and devouring Parasites, were become careless of his Safety; for having in his prosperous and vigorous Youth, fleeced him of all, and more than he could spare, they

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* See the Note pag. 55.

left him in the old Age of his Fortune to shift for himself, and looked upon his Death as an Indemnity for ever from that Tax of Gratitude, which before the World tied them to his Interest, and they were constantly obliged to pay him.

But to return to *Hamilton of Bothwel-haugh*. He was one of those who amongst other bold and loyal Men of that Clan, fought for the Queen at *Langside*, was there taken Prisoner, and sentenced to be hanged, but afterwards made his Escape and was forfeited. His Wife who was Heiress of *Woodhouslie*, not thinking her Husband's Crimes would affect her Estate, willingly abandoned that of *Bothwel-haugh* which was his antient Patrimony, and possess herself of her own. But *Murray* being informed of the Matter by Sir *James Ballantyne* (a mighty Favourite of his, to whom he had gifted *Woodhouslie*) sent some Officers to take Possession of the House, who not only turned the Gentlewoman out of Doors, but stript her naked, and left her in that Condition in the open Field in a cold dark Night, where, before Day, she became furiously mad, and insensible of the Injury they had done her. From this Moment it was, that *Hamilton* resolved upon *Murray's* Death, which, upon the 23d of *January* 1569, being *Saturday*, he thus accomplished at *Linlithgow*. :

He posted himself in a wooden Gallery that fronted the High-street of the Town, through which he knew the Regent must of Necessity pass, and where it was almost impossible he could miss his Aim. On the Floor he placed a large Feather-bed, that his Feet might not be heard, when

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when he walked to and fro, and opposite to the Windows on the In-side of the Room, hung up some black Cloths to conceal his Shadow. His next Care was, to cut out an Hole with his Knife, a little below the Lettice, and just enough to receive his Fusée. To compleat his Security by the Easiness of his Flight, he narrowly viewed the Back-way into the House, where finding the Gate too low for a Man on Horseback, with the Assistance of his Servant he removed the Lintel, and kept his Horse in the Stable ready bridled and saddled. Having thus prepared all Things, the Regent as if he had designed to meet Death Half-way, and oblige his Murderer, mounts his Horse; and the Street being narrow, and crowded with the common People, past very slowly by, or rather indeed stood still before the Gallery, from whence the Assassin, having marked for his Belt, shot him through the Body with a single Bullet, a little below the Navel. And getting suddenly on Horseback, tho' closely pursued by some of the Regent's Company, escaped to *Hamilton*, and shortly afterwards from thence to *France*, where he lived some Years, and was often tempted by very considerable Rewards to dispatch Admiral *Coligny*, as he had done the Regent*; but always answered, "Not till *Coligny* has as much injured me as *Mur-ray*," and protesting that he was heartily sorry for what he had done, by being a Slave to his Passion.

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* So Mr. *De Thou*: But if he had heard who had tempted him, he would probably have told us. As he has not, we may rank this among the rest of his Fables.

Thus fell *James Earl of Murray*, base Son of *James V. King of Scots*, a Man indefatigable in the Road to Greatness, who used Religion as a Cloak for his Ambition and Rebellion, and under the Pretence of Zeal for the Reformation, enriched himself with the Spoil of the *Romish* Churches. Cruel and ingrateful, but above all to his Queen and Sister, who ever trusted to his Sincerity; and over whose Weakness, as a Woman, he constantly triumphed *. A Man wholly indifferent to his Country's Welfare and his most solemn Promises, and who easily forgot the good Offices of his Friend, but never pardoned the ill Ones of his Enemy. He had a pious as well as a liberal Education, and in his Youth applied himself with tolerable Success to the Study of Religion and Philosophy, and made so promising an Appearance, that in all Probability, had he kept himself from the Stage of publick Business, at least acted in a lower Sphere, he had left behind him an unblemished Reputation, and passed upon the World for a Man of a superlative Judgment. But his Ambition having pushed him on to Attempts that were not safe nor honest, that he might attain to sovereign Power, in that eminent Station he discovered his native Weakness: His Head grew giddy with the unusual Height, and not having a Spirit large enough for so great a Fortune, he fell into all those Ills which in a private Condition he would have avoided. His natural Propensity too, to a profuse Way of Living, engaged him in many dishonourable Adventures; for being in his pro-

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perous Fortune led away by every hungry Flatterer about him, he was forced to squeeze the poor, and oppress the Rich, under the Pretence of forged Crimes, to support his own Prodigality, and to satisfy their Wants and Avarice. He was very indulgent to Men of Letters, would readily grant them any Favour, and was particularly fond of the learned Mr. *George Buchanan* *. This Virtue ever remained with him, when Time, Sycophants, and Prosperity had wholly defaced the rest. As for his Out-side, the Beauties of his Body very far surpassed those of his Mind; he rarely appeared sullen or out of Humour; his Face always promised good Nature, and it was almost impossible to those who knew him not, to suspect his Honesty, or believe him cruel. In short, he was active in Business, of undaunted Courage *, and easily engaged in the most difficult and hazardous Enterprises; but being often at too much Pains in Affairs that required less Labour, it became at last a common Saying, "*Murray* has the Hands, and *Morton* the Head;" besides too, in most Things he was ruled by that Earl. His Body was in few Days after removed from *Linlithgow*, and interred in the Collegiate Church of *Edinburgh*. When the News of his Death was carried into *England*, his Sister, whom he had injured

* Because *Buchanan* assisted in forging the pretended Letters from *Bothwell*, wrote the Detection, *jus regni, &c.* to pave the Way for his usurping the Crown. If he was very indulgent to other learned Men, it were to be wished we knew their Names.

* An Instance of this Quality in him, it is thought, cannot be found.

jured in her Fortune, and her more valuable Reputation, was so far from shewing the least Sign of Resentment, that she protested with Tears in her Eyes, she was heartily sorry he was so suddenly taken away, before he had by a serious Repentance expiated his Sins against God, his Sovereign, and his Country.

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MEMOIRS of the Affairs of *SCOTLAND*,

From the Death of the Earl of MUR-
RAY, to the Death of the Earl of
LENOX.

IF Faction and Tumult possessed an absolute and unlimited Sway during *Murray's* Lifetime and Regency, we will find their Interest and Authority not at all diminished by his Death; for tho' the Nation had then but a weak Head, yet having now none at all, all Things went Post to Confusion and Anarchy. His Friends strove eagerly to maintain that Footing they had gained in the Government, with the profuse Expence of so many Sins; and those who had been hitherto kept out of profitable Employments, laboured with no less Zeal to get in their Hands, whilst this Hurry and Disorder lasted. A third Sort aimed at nothing but the publick Benefit and the Restoration of the banished Queen; and a Fourth regardless what became of either, endeavoured to continue these Differences and growing Heats, that unpunished in the general Calamity, they might enrich themselves with the Spoil of the Poor. The *English* Ambassador, who had come only to demand the
Earl

Earl of *Northumberland*, went suddenly home for no Body could take upon him to give him a satisfactory Answer. *George Lord Seton* escaped out of Prison, and the Earl of *Westmorland* (who was concerned in the Rebellion already mentioned) having entered *Scotland* under the Protection of two powerful Borderers *Balcleugh* and *Fernherst*, so far prevailed upon them, who were eminent Loyalists, and knew he had ever favoured the *Scots* Queen, that assembling a considerable Number of Horsemen they made daily Incursions into *England*: And tho' they seldom marched far into the Enemy's Territories, yet the Business made a very great Noise at the *English* Court, where the Party injured had very much magnified their Losses.

Queen Elizabeth, who sat not at this Time too easy upon her Throne, found it convenient not to oppose these Inroads into her Country too soon, lest the *Scots*, wearied of their late Oppression and civil War, should now be brought sooner to unite against *England*, and to the great Contentment of *France* and *Spain* forget their private Aims and Piques against one another, to pursue the juster Quarrel. *Thomas Randolph* is therefore sent to the *Scots* Nobility in general, "calmly to lay before them the Injuries and Affronts she had received," "to desire that the Insolency of these Borderers might be punished, and that according to the Articles of Agreement with the late Regent her rebellious Subjects, who had fled into *Scotland*, or that should come for the future might instantly be delivered up to the Governor of *Berwick*." This was however

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at a Blind to conceal the real Business and his private Instructions; his Task was underhand to encourage both Parties, I mean the Loyalists and Associators, and to assist the first * with small Sum, with which they might levy a few troops, and be enabled to keep the War on foot, because their Enemies were much the stronger; for the Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, tho' he had quarrelled with *Murray*, still retained the Authority of the young King.

Morton being now the most considerable Man in his Party, frankly takes upon him to write to most of the Nobility, especially to such as hated the Queen, to meet at *Edinburgh* the twelfth day of *February*, to choose a Regent, and to consult of the publick Safety, firmly hoping to be elected himself, or at least, to have one preferred to that eminent Post, whom he might easily mould, like the last, to his own Purposes. The Loyalists who easily saw what was aimed at by so sudden a Meeting, hasten to *Hamilton*; where, besides all the Gentlemen of that name, were present, the Earl of *Argyle* and the Lords *Fleming* and *Livingston*. The first thing resolved upon, was to send a Letter to the Associators, and particularly to *Morton*, to enquire, in regard the Day prefixed was too short, and many of the Nobility, who lived at a great distance, could not come to *Edinburgh* so soon, that nothing might be determined, but a new
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* It should be, to assist the latter: For there are extant many Documents that she gave them Money; but that the Loyalists ever got any Assistance from her, no where appears hitherto: and indeed the old MS. has it, to assist against the Queen of Scotland.

Dyet appointed, in which all the Parties concerned being present, Matters might be freely and calmly argued on both Sides, and the present Controversy fairly decided by the Majority of Voices: But withal to assure them, "That if this reasonable Request or Proposal should be slighted, they would have Recourse to Arms, and pursue them as Enemies to the publick Peace, and Betrayers of their native Country." The Associators nevertheless met at the Time and Place appointed, and having read the Letter, were so far from honouring with an Answer those who sent it, that immediately they published a Proclamation, informing

"THAT the Regent being killed by one who after the bloody Deed had fled to *Hamilton*, and was there kindly received and harboured for some time: Therefore they commanded all the King's good Subjects, to approve themselves Enemies to such as had protected him, and were at present assembled in that Town. Certifying those who acted to the contrary, That they should be reputed guilty of the Fact, and treated as such with the utmost Severity."

The next Act of this Convention was to acquit *Lethington*, to secure *Grange* to their Interest: And indeed they not only set him at Liberty, and restored him to his Office, but gave him an ample Testimonial or Certificate in the following Terms:

"WE Undersubscribers convened at *Edinburgh*, on the 14th Day of *February*

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ry, 1569, do with one Voice declare and testify, that none of us know that Secretary *Lethington* is culpable of umquhile the King's Murder, and seeing no Person whatsoever compeirs to accuse him of the same, we must esteem him to be innocently calumniate in Time bygone in the said Matter, tending to the Prejudice of the King's Estate, and his true Subjects, and therefore acknowledge and recognise him as an honest Man, innocent of the said Matters whereof heretofore he was wrongfully accused, accepting and receiving him in his own Place again. Like as we acknowledge him to have been a good and profitable Instrument in this common Weal, in divers great Causes, for the furthering of God's Glory, and the Repose and Quietness of this his Country native." Signed;

<i>Atbole,</i>	<i>Glammis,</i>	<i>Cambuskenneth,</i>
<i>Morton,</i>	<i>Lovat,</i>	<i>Dryburgh,</i>
<i>Cassilis,</i>	<i>Ochiltrie,</i>	<i>Balmerinoch,</i>
<i>Mar,</i>	<i>Methven,</i>	<i>Pittenweem,</i>
<i>Glencairn,</i>	<i>Lindsey,</i>	<i>Tillibardine</i>
<i>Monrofe,</i>	<i>Cathcart,</i>	<i>Comptroller,</i>
<i>Buchan,</i>	<i>Adamus Orcaden.</i>	<i>Justice Clerk.</i>
<i>Ruthven.</i>	<i>Dumfermling,</i>	

That very Day the Convention rose, and a few of their Number, commissioned by the rest, went up to the Castle to examine the Duke of *Chastelherault*, who was still detained there, if he was privy to the Murder of the Regent: But he purged himself by Oath from all Manner of Suspicion in that Affair. Every Body wondered

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that those Lords had proceeded no farther, tho' the Cause was obvious, they found themselves too weak, nor durst they attempt any Thing without the Queen of *England's* Advice, and were so far from electing a new Regent, that most unexpectedly they appointed another Diet, and again by Letters desired those might be present, whom they had too hastily proclaimed Partners in the Murder of the late Regent. The Loyalists however accepted of the Proposal, and made what Haste they could to *Edinburgh*, where relying on the Governour's Friendship, they lodged themselves near the Castle, and were therefore in Derision, by their Enemies, commonly called the Lords of the *Meal-market*. Being at last assembled, the Loyalists proposed, " That the Queen should be restored to the " Throne of her Ancestors, and that those who " came in at any Time for either Party, before " the Dissolution of the Convention or Meeting, should be allowed to vote for or against " the said Restoration, before the same should " be held as determined: That in the mean " time a Lieutenant or Vice-roy should be elected after the same Manner, to govern the " Kingdom in her Absence, and to maintain " whose Expence one Half of what accrued to " the Crown, by Property or otherwise, should " be chearfully given, and the other Half to the " Queen till her Restoration could be accomplished." The Lords (for so the Queen's Enemies were commonly called) finding no mention made of their young King, and being indeed afraid of putting their Cause to the Hazard of a Vote, utterly rejected the Proposal, and at

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first flatly answered, " That they had come to
 " this Meeting or Assembly, to maintain the
 " present Government, and not to establish a
 " new One." However upon second Thoughts,
 finding themselves not very strong, and shrewd-
 ly suspecting the good Intentions of *Grange*, the
 Governor of the Castle, towards them, to mol-
 lify Matters the next Day, they pretended,
 " That what the Loyalists had proposed, was
 " of so very great Consequence, that it requi-
 " red the Conveniency of a longer Time, before
 " they could be able to give in their final Reso-
 " lutions concerning it." This was only to
 gain Time, for, following the Steps of *Murray*,
 who by *Morton's* Advice had so luckily chalked
 out the Way, they write a long Letter to the
 Queen of *England*, craving her Advice and As-
 sistance, and at the same time send another to
Matthew Earl of *Lenox*, the Grandfather of
 their young King, intreating him instantly to
 return to *Scotland*, and to take upon him the
 Regency for the Benefit of his Grand-child, and
 the Safety of their Country. Of this Request to
Lenox, they had likewise acquainted Queen *Eli-
 zabeth* in their Letter. The Messenger was
 hardly dispatched for *England*, when *Monsieur*
Virac arrived from *France*, with Letters from
 that King to many of the *Scots* Nobility, especi-
 ally to such as adhered to the Queen. This ob-
 liged the Associators again to address the *Eng-
 lish* Queen, to balance that Encouragement their
 Enemies received from *France*, and to acquaint
 her, " That if Queen *Mary* should now make
 " her Escape, (for this was daily rumoured by
 " the Loyalists to gain the Commonalty) and
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“ return to *Scotland* in this Nick of Time,
 “ when they wanted an Head, and the Loyal-
 “ ists were so much elevated with the Hopes of
 “ being recruited from *France*, all would be
 “ lost; and their Party, whom she knew devo-
 “ ted to her Interests, would be inevitably ruin-
 “ ed.” In the mean time, it is certain, the
 Nation became so divided, whilst one Half re-
 lied upon *England*, and the other upon *France*;
 and having no supreme Magistrate at Home, that
 the antient Records of the *Scots*, in so many
 Hundreds of Years past, could show no such pu-
 blick Distraction, or a Time parallel to this:
 The High-ways were covered with Robbers,
 who openly and daily committed their lewd
 Pranks, without Fear of Punishment; nor durst
 the unhappy Traveller who escaped such Banditi
 profess himself or for his Queen, or her young
 Son, lest he who asked the Question should prove
 his Adversary, and knock him on the Head,
 purely upon the Score of Principle, or a misled
 Conscience. Nay, so utterly were Men aban-
 doned to Wickedness and Disorder; so much
 did Mischief come in Vogue, and Oppression
 grew fashionable, that he was reputed a peace-
 able Coward, and one of a low Spirit, who had
 not injured his Neighbour, and been boldly gail-
 ty of some notable Robbery or Murder. In
 short, Order was wholly banished out of Doors,
 Justice lay buried and unseen, and many found
 now too late, that Kingdoms suffer more in one
 Year by a Civil War, than by obeying in many
 the most barbarous Tyrants. These lament-
 able Divisions in *Scotland* were too much for the
 Interest of *England* to be suddenly removed, and

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that Queen continued silent and passive, in Hopes both Parties might at last weaken themselves by coming to Blows. As for the Earl of *Lenox*, contrary to all the Rules of Reason, and the Expectation of wise Men, either in Hopes of Revenge upon his Enemies, or to satisfy a blind Ambition, he accepted of the profer'd Dignity, or rather Danger, and embarked himself in this Hurricane of Rebellion, at the dear Expence of his Life, nor being able to foresee those Hazards he was to encounter, or to shun that Rock upon which his Predecessor in that Post had split himself.

Queen *Mary* in the mean time sent down from *England* the Laird of *Garntully*, with a Letter to the Earl of *Mar*, requesting him to keep her Son out of the Hands of her Enemies, and, according to that Duty which he owed to his Sovereign and his Country, to use his Endeavours for a Peace, in order to promote her Restoration, and to assure those who would not comply upon reasonable Terms, that *France* would assist her loyal Subjects against them, and force them to a Sense of their Duty. She sent likewise Letters by the same Gentleman to most of her Friends; but I do not find that *Mar*, (tho' a good * Man) could ever be persuaded to embrace her Interest.

The Loyalists about the latter End of *March*, assembled at *Niddry-Seton*, and there agreed

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* However good he was otherways, he was certainly most ungrateful to his Sovereign, who had been very bountiful to him; and, for ought appears, no less ambitious than his Neighbours, and one who, upon Occasion, laid all Sense of Honour aside. See the Note on pag. 55.

to have a full Meeting at *Linlithgow*, the 8th of *April* following. The Associators fearing they would proceed to Arms before they could be strengthened with the Authority of a Regent, or have the desired Succour from *England*, to hamper out the Time in Delays, or rather indeed allay their Heat, they restore their Leader the Duke of *Chastelherault*, to his Liberty, and with him the Lord *Herries* *. This, however it might blunt the Edge of their Wrath, did not at all impede or retard their Meeting: for precisely at the Time and Place appointed appeared the *French* Ambassador, the Duke of *Chastelherault*, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntly*, *Athole*, *Crawford*, and *Cassils*; the Lords *Hume*, *Fleming*, *Boyd*, *Seton*, *Yester*, *Somerville*, *Oliphant*, *Ogilvy*, *Borthwick*, and *Herries*; Secretary *Lethington*, and Sir *James Balfour*, with the two *English* Lords, the Earl of *Westmorland*, and the Lord *Dacres*. Having drawn up an Answer to the *French* King, with an exact State of the present Posture of Affairs in the Kingdom, they began next to think of providing for their present Safety. They were by no Means secure in that Town, if their Enemies should attempt any Thing against them, and if each of them retired to his own House, they would infallibly become a Prey to the Rebels, who being in one intire Body, would easily defeat them when thus dispersed. To prevent either of these Misfortunes, they send a Letter to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, by *James Her-*

* Who had been treacherously kidnapped by *Murray*,
supra pag. 112.

of *Trabron*, requesting to be peaceably admitted into the City, till Matters might be adjusted betwixt them and their Enemies. This favour the Citizens very readily granted, only with this Proviso, "That the two *English* Lords should not be allowed to enter with them." The Loyalists were sorry enough to have these behind them, lest they should fall into the Hands of the Rebels who would undoubtedly deliver them up to the Queen of *England*; but yielding to Necessity, they accepted of what the Citizens offered, and ordered my Lord *Hume* in the mean time to attend these two Noblemen, and provide for their Safety, who shortly gave a very good Account of his Charge; for having carefully concealed them some Days in his own house, he found at last a Ship which conveyed them out of Danger to *Flanders*.

Queen *Elizabeth* thought it now no longer convenient to remain passive, she had been idle long enough to let her Favourite Party in *Scotland* see how little they could do without her Assistance, and to inform any thinking Man that she would hinder Queen *Mary's* Return to her native Country; and therefore sends the Earl of *Suffex* with an Army, (as she pretended) to revenge herself upon the Borderers *Ballcleugh* and *Erniheirst*, but in Effect to weaken the Loyalists, under the Pretence of resenting the Injury they had done her, by encouraging Rebellions in *England*, in so far as they had protected her fugitive Subjects, who had fled from Justice. Her Army had yet another Errand, which was to facilitate *Lenox's* Accession to the proffered Regency, and to support him in it, reasonably
fore

foreseeing, that a Man so long nourished and sheltered in *England*, and who left his Wife behind him as a Pledge for his Honesty, would be yet more her humble Servant than his Predecessor *Murray*, and be so far from attempting any Thing against the Tranquility of that Kingdom, that he would do nothing of Moment in *Scotland*, without her Advice and Approbation.

The Loyalists who very easily apprehended the real Business of this Army, to prevent the Mischief which threatened them, or if not that, to let the World see Queen *Elizabeth's* Kindness and Justice to the distressed Queen, and to which she constantly made mighty Pretensions, send most submissive Letters both to her and her General, intreating her not to lay hold upon such an Opportunity of invading *Scotland*, which was so much divided, and almost laid waste already with intestine Broils, offering at the same Time to repay those Losses her Subjects had sustained, or to make any other Satisfaction that should consist with Honour, and could reasonably be demanded for the same: But to be brief, the *English* Queen was deaf to the Proposal.

The Loyalists thus straitened, once more attempt to end the Matter of Contest by fair Means, and again try what could be done in a Meeting of both Parties: But to avoid Tumults and Confusion, it was agreed by either Side, to refer the Dispute to a few of their Number. The Place appointed for this Conference was *Dunkeith*. For the Loyalists appeared the Earl of *Arthole*, a new Profelyte, the Prior of *Coldingham*, who was Secretary *Lethington's* Brother, and the

Lord

Lord *Boyd*; and for the Enemy, *James Earl of Morton*, and *Robert*, Commendator of *Dumfermline*. Most Men easily foresaw what would be the End of their Meeting, and that it would terminate like the former: And indeed it succeeded no better; for as the Rebels were stiff and insolent in their Demands, knowing of Succours so far advanced from *England*, their Adversaries remained stedfast and and unshaken in their Loyalty; this undervalued the pretended Sovereignty of the young King, and that the lawful Title of the Queen unlawfully banished and imprisoned; and the harrassed Country was again left to suffer between both. The Earl of *Suffex* in the mean time with the *English* Army, entered the South Borders of *Scotland*, and there burnt and demolished the Houses of *Fernihurst* and *Braxholm*, the Towns of *Hawick* and *Crawling* he reduced to Ashes, and in a special Manner wasted the Lands and Houses belonging to the Lord *Hume*, and marched back into *England*.

The Duke of *Chastelherault*, the Earl of *Huntly*, and the rest of the Loyalists, as I have already said, being by Consent of the Citizens lodged in *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Morton* came with a considerable Number of armed Men, violently to drive them from thence, finding it very disadvantageous to his Party, that the Enemy should remain peaceably possessed of the Metropolis of the Kingdom: The Governor of the Castle not willing to sham the Matter any longer, and now resolved to act above-board, dismounts a Couple of great Guns, and privately placed them near the City, in that Road by which

which he knew *Morton* was to enter. The Earl who dreamed of no such Mischance, came marching on very gravely at the Head of his Troops; but the Cannon being suddenly discharged upon him, he mended his Pace, and was so heartily frightened, that neither himself nor any of his Followers thought upon coming again so nigh the City for a considerable Time thereafter. The *English* Army that had just retired to breathe a little, that they might not gall their Enemy too much at once, and render the *Scottish* Rebels obnoxious to the Hatred of the common People, again enter the Country, and besiege the Castle of *Hume*, to terrify the rest of the Associators from returning to their Duty, which being taken and plundered, they returned again into *England* for the second Time.

But before this voluntary Retreat could be known, it was generally reported and believed that *Morton* was gone to the *English* Army to crave their Assistance. The *Edinburghers*, for great Cities rarely afford great Heroes, hereupon imagine the Enemy just at their Gates, and humbly beseech the Loyalists to prevent that Mischiefe which threatened them for their Sakes, to retire instantly out of the City. This was a Favour could hardly be denied to those who had willingly received them, and accordingly they marched out, with a tolerable Guard of Musqueteers whom they had newly hired, and kept privately dispersed in the Suburbs. In their Way from thence to *Linlithgow*, where they designed to reside, they encountered the Earl of *Mar*, who was well enough attended, and coming into that City, which they had but unwillingly

ngly abandoned. The Duke of *Chastelherault*, who was at the Head of the Loyalists, stood to his Ground, and resolved to fight him; but the good Earl having no Stomach at that Time for so smart a Diet, thought fit to wheel off, and gave the High-way to his Grace.

The Associators informed of *Mar's* Danger, put out a new Proclamation, discharging all the King's Subjects to assist such tumultuous Persons under the Pain of Death; and commanding all Magistrates of Burrows to seize and apprehend them, if they should chance to come within their Bounds and Jurisdiction. The Loyalists at the same Time published a counter Proclamation at *Edinburgh*, commanding all the Queen's Subjects in her Name, to attend the Duke of *Chastelherault*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntly*, as her undoubted Lieutenants, and that too under the Pain of Death. *Grange* in the mean time, lest the English should come forward and besiege the Castle, hastily provided it with all Things necessary; and threatened to salute any of the Associators, of which he had so long made one, who should venture to approach the City, with the same Respect he had paid to *Morton*. The Rebels now seeing the English Army retired, and the Cannon of the Castle of *Edinburgh* thus turned against them by the Governor, the Number and Strength of the Loyalists daily increasing, and all Things tending to the Restoration of the banished Queen, sent the Abbot of *Dumfermling* into *England*, to crave once more Queen *Elizabeth's* Assistance in behalf of their young King against the Friends of his Mother, and at the

the same Time to hasten Home the Earl of *Lennox*, whom they still intended should be Regent.

Queen *Elizabeth* finding it now necessary to support them, unless she had actually designed Queen *Mary's* Return, readily granted all those Troops they asked, only required Hostages for their being safely sent back again, the Hazard of War excepted. Hereupon was sent for the Earl of *Morton*,——*Douglas* of *Kilspindie*; for the Earl of *Mar*, *James Erskine*; for the Lord *Lindsay*, *James Lindsay* of *Pyeston*; for the Earl of *Glencairn*,——*Cunningham* of *Waterstone*; and for the Lord *Ruthven* was sent *Alaster Ruthven*: These, with the Lord *Ochiltree*, having entered *Berwick* on the 10th of May 1570, Sir *William Drury* the Governor thereof, accompanied by *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, entered *Scotland* the very next Day, being the 11th, with 1000 Foot, 300 light Horse, and 4 Field Pieces; and on the 13th arrived at *Edinburgh*, the 20th they were joined by 1000 *Scots*, whom the Lord or Associators had pressed, or hired, during the Months of *March* and *April*. The first Business of this Army was the taking of the Castle of *Hamilton*; that done, they burnt the Palace and Town of the same Name; and that these honest Patriots might be heartily humbled, not much as the Trees and Corn-fields belonging to an *Hamilton* escaped their Fury. All the Lands and Houses pertaining to the Lords *Fleming* and *Livingston* were wasted and destroyed, the Duke of *Chastelherault's* Lodgings in *Linlithgow* were burnt down; the Castle of *Kinneil* had the same Fate, nor did the Houses of *Pard*, *Bynnie*, *Kincavil*, and Chapel of *Livingston* escape the Flame

in this all devouring March. These Triumphs
being over, the *English* returned again to *Ber-*
wick, and the *Scots* Pledges were allowed to
march Home. The Abbot of *Dumfermling*
and Mr. *Randolph*, as Ambassador from *England*,
came down together much about the same Time.
The Answer the Abbot brought to his Party,
was not very agreeable to their Interest and
Wishes; for tho' he assured them the Queen of
England was well enough pleased that they had
hitherto done nothing without her Advice and
approbation; yet he was obliged to inform
them too, that at the Importunity of foreign
Ambassadors, she had again condescended to a
new Hearing, because *Murray* had not enough
justified their violent Proceedings against their
Queen; and that therefore, till Matters were de-
termined, she advised them not to think of e-
lecting a Regent. However to gild this bitter
pill, *Randolph* made a long Speech to assure
them of his Mistress's Protection, and that she
never resolved to act any Thing in Favours of
their Enemies, that might endanger the Safety
of the established Religion, or of the young
King. The Associators easily perceived the
Drift of Queen *Elizabeth's* Answer, and that this
new Hearing, and delaying the intended Electi-
on, was only to give Time to their defeated Ad-
versaries to recruit their Strength, and so be
able to lengthen out the civil War, and make
the *Scots* in a Condition to destroy one another
without the Expence of *English* Assistance: They
knew too, if either Party prevailed, she could
send down an *Essex* or a *Drury* to cast the Ba-
lance, and keep them thus eternally divided.

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But each of them being blinded with the Ambition of Rule, and all of them being afraid of the Return of their Sovereign, whom they had so highly offended and injured, dreading the Assistance of *France*, and not daring to disoblige Queen *Elizabeth*, to whom their Rebellion made them Slaves; yet being altogether unable to effectuate any Thing without an Head, they constituted *Lenox* a temporary Regent, under the Name of Lieutenant of the Kingdom, with that same Authority and Power in publick Affairs, with which *Murray* had been invested. But this being only to continue till the 11th of *July*, they send again to Queen *Elizabeth* to acquaint her with what they had done, and to beg her Advice and Approbation in an Affair of so much Weight, and to give her Concurrence and Counsel concerning their electing of a Regent. This Action of the Rebels or Associators, tho' it was not what that Princess expected, yet not being directly against that Advice she had sent them, she was forced to rest satisfied; and, lest they should make a worse Step, and prefer *Lenox* to her Regency, without her Consent, she sent them a Letter in Return, containing:

“ THAT she kindly accepted of their good
 “ Will testified by their seeking her Advice in
 “ the Choice of a Regent, that being a Matter
 “ of great Importance, and nearly touching the
 “ State of their King and Realm. That
 “ her Mind once was, that they should do best
 “ to delay the Election for a Time: But now
 “ considering the Disorders that were raised,
 “ and possibly thereafter might arise, if some
 “ Pre-

" Person was not placed in that Charge, he
 " did allow their Resolution; and seeing the
 " Abilities of Men for that Place were best
 " known to themselves, she should be satisfied
 " with their Choice whatsoever it was. How-
 " beit, out of the Care she had of the young
 " King, she would not dissemble her Opinion,
 " which was, That the Earl of *Lenox* her Cou-
 " sin, whom they had already made Lieute-
 " nant of the Realm, would be more careful of
 " his Safety than any other. But in any Case
 " desired them not to think, that in so doing
 " she prescribed them any Choice, but left it
 " free to themselves to do what was fittest.
 " She desired them to rest assured, notwith-
 " standing of the Reports dispersed by their Ad-
 " versaries, that she had neither yielded nor
 " would yield to the Alteration of the State of
 " their King and Government, unless she saw
 " a more clear and just Reason than had yet
 " appeared. For howbeit she condescended to
 " hear what the Queen of *Scots* would say and
 " offer as well for her own Assurance, as for
 " the Good of the Realm of *Scotland*, a Thing
 " which in Honour she could not refuse, yet
 " not knowing what the same would be, she
 " meant not to break the Order of Law and
 " Justice, either to the advancing or prejudi-
 " cing of her Cause. Therefore finding the
 " Realm governed by a King, and him invest-
 " ed by Coronation and other Solemnities re-
 " quisite; as also received by the three Estates;
 " she minded not to do any Act that might
 " breed Alteration in the State, or make a Con-
 " fusion of Governments, but as she had
 " found Things, so to suffer the same to conti-

"nue, and not permit any Change therein, so
 "far as she might impede the same, except by
 "some eminent Reason, she should be induced
 "to alter her Opinion. Finally, she desired
 "them to beware, that neither by misconcei-
 "ving her good Meaning towards them, nor by
 "the insolent Brags of their Adversaries, they
 "should take any Course that might hinder
 "or weaken their Cause, and make her In-
 "tentions for their Good ineffectual." The
English of this last Sentence, was in plain Terms,
 "They must do nothing without her Advice
 "and Permission;" but if any Man will be at
 the Pains to weigh the whole Letter, he may
 clearly read the consummated Cunning of that
 Queen, and how happy she was in the Choice
 of her Counsellors: Every Line contains a Com-
 mand admirably couched, * to keep the *Scotts*,
 who were always jealous of *England*, from see-
 ing that she pretended to have a masterly Hand
 in the Management of their Affairs; she points
 out the Regent, yet leaves them to a free Choice,
 lest she should too far engage herself in his De-
 fence, if any Turn had happened, and by hint-
 ing that she could not refuse a second Time to
 hear what the *Scots* Queen had to say for her-
 self; she kept the Princes Abroad in Suspence,
 the loyal Subjects of that Princess at Home, from
 despairing to obtain her Assistance: Yet she adds
 nothing

* Others cannot see all these fine Things here. But in
 Truth there is one Thing couched so well, that our Au-
 thor has not discovered it, viz. That it was not *Elizabeth's*
 Intention that *Lenox* should be made Regent; for she was
 afraid lest he, by being promoted to that Office, should
 find out the real Murderers of his Son.

nothing to keep her own darling Party from relying confidently and entirely upon her Friendship; but leaves them to expound their Adversaries, either to be their fellow Subjects at Home, or the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. However, it is certain this Letter in the mean Time served one of the Ends for which it was sent; for on the 12th of *July* *Lenox* was chosen Regent at *Stirling*, and on the 13th the Election was proclaimed with the accustomed Solemnities over the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*, and ordered to be read in all the Parish Churches, immediately after the Forenoon's Sermon.

The Loyalists, not to let him forget that Preferment, especially when unjustly obtained, is attended with constant Danger, placed themselves in *Callendar* Wood, to surprise him in his Way from *Stirling* to *Linlithgow*. The Party was commanded by the Lord *Claud Hamilton*; but the new Regent being informed of the Design against him, staid so very long at *Stirling*, that his Lordship was forced at last to give over the Undertaking, and retire with his Men to *Hamilton*.

As soon as the Field was clear the Regent came to *Linlithgow*, where being advertised that the Earl of *Huntly* had besieged the Castle of *Aberbrothock*, in which was but a small Garrison, commanded by *George Douglas*, commonly called *George the Postulate*; he sends the Earl of *Morton* with such a Number of light Horse, as he thought sufficient to raise the Siege; but the Earl believing himself too weak to attempt *Douglas's* Relief, without the Hazard of losing his Troops, stopped at *Perth*, and there

got a Reinforcement of Foot, most of them Volunteers. Before he marched from thence, he was informed by his Spies, that the Earl of *Crawford*, and the Lord *Ogilvie* were fortifying the Town of *Brechin* in the best Manner they could, and there designed to wait the Coming of *Huntly*: These *Morton*, finding himself much superior in Number, resolved to attack first, and to keep them from joining, made all imaginable Haste to reach the Town: But the two Lords who knew themselves too weak, marched off, and left only two Captains, *Couts* and *Weems*, with their several Companies, conveniently posted in the Church, to serve as a Diversion for the Enemy: When the Earl approached these Gentlemen ordered their Men to fire upon him smartly, hoping to discourage his Troops at the first Brunt, who were most of them raw and unpractised in the Trade of War, and indeed they were not mistaken; for the Fire having laid thirteen of them dead upon the Spot, the rest were so terrified, that all the Earl's Endeavours could not bring them again within Musquet Shot of the Church. The Regent hereupon, to save the Honour of his Friend, musters what Forces he could, in so short Time, and hastens to his Assistance; but the Captains discouraged by the Number of their Enemies, which they saw thus encreased, and having no Provisions for a formal Siege, surrendered at Discretion. *Morton* who was heinously offended, that they had not yielded sooner, and that another had robbed him of the Conquest, so far prevailed upon *Lenox*, whom he ruled absolutely as he had done *Murray*, to revenge

the Affront, that he ordered *Couts* and his whole Company, consisting of 75 Men to be hanged in the View of the Town. *Weems* had suffered the same Fate, had he not been rich, and bought Life for himself and his Men, with the best Half of his Estate; which being in Money, and lodged in private Hands, contributed very much to advance both his Security and the Bargain.

In the mean time, instead of being pleased with this Victory, the common People were heartily dissatisfied with his Promotion to the Regency, looking upon him rather as an *English* than a *Scots-man*, and took this Action for an early Proof of his Aversion to or at least that little Regard he had for *Scotland*, when he was so profuse of *Scottish* Blood, in hanging up 75 common Centinels at once, when he ought either to have decimated them, or executed their Leaders only: And it was now common in every Man's Mouth, that he ought not to be trusted by the *Scots*, who had left his Wife in the *English* Queen's Hands, as a Pledge of his services to that Nation: However in his Return from *Brechin*, he besieged the Castle of *Down*, which was surrendered after a short Resistance, upon Condition that the same should not be demolished.

The Success of this Expedition, tho' very much magnified by the Party to please the Rabbles, could nevertheless hardly enable him to maintain that Authority due to his Post. *Hunt-* was in Arms, the *Hamiltons* bore an equal hatred to his Person and his Cause, (for there had been a long and open War between their families, and indeed most of the Loyalists had been

been so heavily oppressed, that they were ready to attempt any Thing against him: But an *English* Army entering the West Borders of *Scotland*, gave them suddenly to understand, that they had *England* to deal with as well as the Rebels. This Army, which was but little, and mustered in Haste to serve *Queen Elizabeth's* present Turn amongst the *Scots*, came still under the stale Pretence of repaying Injuries done her by *Fernherst* and *Bucpleugh*, the Civil War having hitherto prevented that Satisfaction she required; but in Effect to scourge and weaken the Loyalists, at least terrify them from attempting any Thing against their Adversaries. They began with the Towns of *Annan* and *Dumfries*, which they reduced to Ashes, having first plundered the same, and amongst other Things carried away the Bells of the Churches. The *Johnstons*, who had accompanied *Bucpleugh* and *Fernherst* in their Incurfions into *England*, paid severely at this Time for their Assistance; it is certain they were most of them such as delighted in Rapine and Acts of Violence; but having hitherto acknowledged no Authority but the *Queen's*, that was added to the Number of their Crimes, and increased the Number of their Stripes. The Castle of *Hodden*, *Annan*, *Carlaverock*, the Houses of *Cowhill*, *Cloisburn*, *Tynel* and *Bonsbaw*, and several others of lesser Note, were all at this Time demolished, and the Enemy loaded with Spoil, marched triumphantly Home again, not one Man having appeared against them.

The King of *Spain* on the other Hand wanted not a tender Sense of the *Scots* *Queen's* Misfortunes, and of what her loyal Subjects suffer-

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ed for her at Home, and being frequently importuned by her Resident at the *Spanish* Court, Mr. *John Hamilton*, Rector of *Dunbar*, ordered the Duke of *Alva*, then in the Low-countries, to send such Supplies of Men, Money, and Arms into *Scotland*, as his Affairs in that Place would conveniently permit. *Alva*, who was a severe Enemy to Rebellion, was fond enough of assisting the Loyalists amongst the *Scots*; but having too much Work for his Men at Home, he sent *Hamilton* and two other Gentlemen moreover to *Huntly*, with a very modest Sum of Money to hire a few Soldiers, and to mend the Compliment, gave them at the same Time 600 Musquets, 600 Murrions, as many Croisets, 3000 Pikes, 7 Pieces of Ordnance, and a considerable Quantity of Gun-powder.

The Loyalists full of Gratitude for so considerable a Favour, (which by the bye helped only to balance the contending Parties, and to lengthen the Civil War) send *George Lord Seton* back with *Hamilton* and the other two Gentlemen, to return their Thanks to the King of *Spain* and the Duke, well knowing that the last of these by representing his own Necessities to his Master, might easily have excused himself from sending any Compliment of Money or Arms to the *Scots*. *Seton* having seen *Alva* once or twice, and found him, (notwithstanding of his four rigid Humour) extremely obliging, resolved to attempt something that might advance the King of *Spain's* Interest, and serve that Duke and the *Scots* Queen too. He foresaw that if he could contribute to put an End to the Wars in *Flanders*, *Spain* would then be both able and willing

ling to furnish the *Scots* with such a Number of Troops as might at once reduce the Rebels, and help them to repay the *English* in their own Coin, for their late Incursions. He knew that many *Scots* Officers and Soldiers fought under the *Hollanders*, who if they could be tempted to revolt, would infallibly weaken their Masters. Nor did he think it hard to accomplish the Matter, when he considered that he was known to most of them, and that the Safety and Honour of their native Country, and the Restoration of their banished Queen were very powerful Motives to induce them to a Change, and Temptations strong enough to shake their Honesty. He acquainted the Duke with the Project, who relished it so far as to furnish him with Money to promote the Affair, and acquainted his Master the King of *Spain*, with it, as a Business of Consequence, and likely to succeed; and indeed he did not this upon slight Grounds, for *Seton* having entertained them splendidly, drunk them hard, and promised largely, was in a fair Way to have debauched most of them. In the meantime, as the Reward of his Labour, he proposed that 10,000 Men should be sent into *Scotland*, for the Service of the *Scots* Queen; but this being more than *Spain* could grant at this Time, as much Money was offered as would maintain the Number of Men desired, during six Months only. However, before this Matter could be fully adjusted, *Seton's* Practices were discovered. The *Hollanders* were heartily enough alarmed, not knowing how far the Plot was carried on, and threatened to force him to a plain Confession of the whole Mystery upon

upon the Rack; he nevertheless flatly denied every Thing laid to his Charge, and Witnesses being adduced to confront him, instead of being nonplussed, boldly replied, "That being Ambassador for the Queen of *Scots*, such dishonest Rascals as these could not be admitted as Witnesses against him, nor such infamous Rebels as themselves be his Judges," and thereupon appealed to the Lord *Conservator*, Judge Ordinary for his Queen. The *Hollanders*, pretending no Regard to his Appeal, ordered him to be removed into the next room, and after mature Deliberation, it was resolved at last, "That he should at least taste the Rack to discourage him;" but the Executioner being called, and the Instrument of Torture laid before him, he had the Confidence to tell those Judges who were appointed by the Court to hear his Confession, "That all this was mere Mockery, for they durst not proceed in earnest." This unseasonable Bravery might have cost him some Pain, for it is by no Means safe to exasperate a powerful Enemy, had not the *Scots* Captains, backed by their Soldiers, suddenly surrounded the House, and demanded the Prisoner, offering to continue in the *Dutch* Service, if this Favour were granted, and if not, to go off in one Body to the *Spanish* General. *Seton* was hereupon immediately set at Liberty, he proceeded no further in that Affair for the future, nor could the King of *Spain* ever be prevailed upon to send that six Months Pay he had promised, his own Affairs in *Flanders* leaving no Room for his Assistance to Foreigners. This Passage was for some Days the common

mon Subject of Discourse in Scotland; the younger Sort extolled *Seton's* Courage to the Skies, but with the Wife, his Conduct very much lessened his former Character. He was for the future looked upon as a Man of more Heat than Discretion, nor was the Undertaking at all reputed honourable.

Whilst these Things were acting in the *Netherlands*, the Regent had sent a Servant of his own, one *John Moone* with Letters to the Queen of England; but this Gentleman being a Loyalist at the Bottom, had not only imparted the Contents to Queen *Mary's* Friends, but accepted of two Papers which he was to deliver secretly to that Princess, one of them from some Gentlemen in the South of *Scotland*, the other from the North, written in Cyphers, and subscribed by 74 of the Nobility and Gentry of that Country. *Moone* however had not carried the Affair so closely as he ought to have done, too many People were concerned, and the Business taking Air, he was hanged at the Market Cross of *Edinburgh* upon the penult Day of *August*. About the same Time Secretary *Lethington*, who was never in good Terms with *Morton*, was turned out of his Office, and *Robert Commendator of Dumfermling* made Secretary in his Stead.

Rebellion, the Mother of a thousand Sins, was not at this Time barren, she had already brought forth Rapes and Murders in Shoals, and now brings upon the Stage Crimes of unnatural Lust; for *Moone* had been but five Days executed, when two Men were apprehended in the same City for *Sodomy*, and indeed their Punishment was proportioned to their Guilt.

For

For first of all, they were imprisoned ten Days, upon the mortifying Diet of Bread and Water, and that given too with a sparing Hand ; from whence they were carried out, and placed at the Market-crofs, with their Crime written in Capital Letters upon their Foreheads ; with the same Inscription they stood three several *Sundays* in the *High-Church* ; were afterwards duck'd thrice over Head and Ears in the *North-Loch*, where the Water is extremely nauseous, that Place being in some measure the common Shore of the City, and then were burnt to Death at the *Gal-lowlee* betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*. In this Month came Letters from the *French King* to some of the Loyalists, and Provisions and Ammunition to the Castle of *Dumbarton*, for their better Encouragement.

About the latter End of the same [*September 1570,*] Mr. *John Kelloe*, Minister of *Spot* near *Dunbar*, came into *Edinburgh*, being seized with a terrible Remorse of Conscience, judicially to confess a Crime which could never have been otherways proved against him. He had been married before he had got into Orders or possessed a Benefice, to a Neighbour's Daughter in the Country, who had brought him but a slender Portion, yet such as his Circumstances at that Time obliged him to look upon as a tolerable Fortune : To balance this Want of Money, she was extremely handsome, witty and fond ; she was a very little Woman, but well shap'd, and in short had all those good Qualities which could endear a Wife to her Husband : He nevertheless was so far from being sensible of her Merits, that he was frequently out of Humour,

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and often behaved himself very harshly towards her, whilst she, both out of a Respect to his Person and Character, for he was reputed at once a pious Man, and an eminent Preacher, still strove to forget those Injuries she daily received at his Hands, and carefully concealed them all from the World. All this however could not better her Condition, for he still remembering that she stood in the Way between him and Wealth, which he proposed to himself by a second Marriage with the Laird of — Daughter, (for so he owned in Prison) fully determined at last to rid his Hands of such an Obstacle as soon as possible. To prepare the Way for the Execution of his Design, and to conceal it when done, he seems wholly to lay aside his former Uneasiness, and appeared always discontented when she was not in his Company. She who now thought herself the happiest of her Sex, officiously strove to make him so too, and hastened her own Ruin; for upon a *Sunday Morning*, as she was saying her Prayers upon her Knees, he came softly behind her, clapt a Rope (which he had kept all Night in his Pocket) about her Neck, and after he had strangled her, tied her up to an Iron Hook, which a Day or two before he had purposely nailed to the Ceiling of the Room: This done, he bolted his Gate, and crept out at his Parlour Window, slept demurely to Church, and charmed his Hearers with a most excellent Sermon. At Night, after his usual Manner, he invites two or three of his Neighbours to sup with him, telling them, his Wife, not being well, and of late something inclined to Melancholy, had not come that Day

Day to Church, and would be very glad to see them at her House. All of them being fond of her, and sorry to hear she was indisposed, willingly accompany him Home; but knocking at the Gate, were surpris'd to find that no Body answered, but much more when, having forced it open, they found her hanging dead in her Husband's Closet. Mr. *John* was struck dumb with a well feign'd Grief, and counterfeited Sorrow, so much to the Life, that his Neighbours almost forgot to mourn for the Dead, so much they were afraid of losing the Living. However, these forged Tears, by the infinite Mercy of God to this great Offender, came suddenly to be real ones: His Soul became oppress'd with the Weight of his Guilt, and finding no Hopes of Ease from the painful Rack of Conscience, about six Weeks after he had committed the Murder, he confessed the same to the School-master of *Dunbar*, who accompanied him to *Edinburgh*, where being convicted from his own Mouth, he was sentenced to be strangled and burnt at the *Gallowlee*, and his Ashes to be thrown into the Air; which was accordingly executed upon him the fourth Day of *October*, 1570. Never did any Man appear more penitent, or less fearful of Death. He was attended from the Prison to the Stake, by three of the Clergy, and by the Way he rather instructed them, than received any Assistance from them.

During this Month, the Duke of *Chastelherault*, the Abbot of *Kilwinning*, *Lethington*, the Prior of *Coldingham*, and Mr. *Thomas Maitland*, were proclaimed Traitors to the King; and the Earl of *Crawford*, who had of late adhered wholly

to the Queen, took the Oaths to her Son, to shun the same Fate. By the Forfeiture of the Duke of *Orkney*, *Morton* was at the same Time made Sheriff-principal of *Edinburgh*, and Constable of *Haddington*.

All Things tending thus to utter Confusion, and both Parties again ready to decide the Controversy by Force of Arms, at the Queen of *England's* Desire, who once more talk'd of doing Justice to the *Scots* Queen, a Cessation from all Manner of Hostilities was on both Sides agreed to, till the 12th of *November* following; but the Regent, who would be no Slave to his Promise when it clash'd with his Interest, and who well knew how little Queen *Elizabeth* would resent the Affront, sent, during the Truce, no less than 300 Horse to *Hamilton*, who there seized upon the Duke's Plate and Household Furniture, and sold them at the Market-cross of *Lindithgow*. *Lethington*, and most of the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*, were served the same Sawce; and it was too well known that the Money arising from so many valuable Goods never reached the publick Light, but was smothered in the Regent's Pockets.

The *English* Queen, just as she had done by *Murray*, pretended however to be very ill satisfied with *Lenox's* Conduct, and following the same Measures, sends him a long Letter from her Court at *Windsor*, dated the 7th of *October*, telling him, " That she could not but be heartily
" ly displeased with what he had done, and
" suspecting that by these unfair Proceedings, he
" trusted not to the Justice of his Cause, but to
" Slight and Force, she therefore desired him
" to

“ to come to *London*, or send such as he thought
 “ fit, to justify his or their Rebellion against
 “ their Queen, and to satisfy her, and all the
 “ World, why she ought not again to be resto-
 “ red to her Crown and Authority.” The same
 was desired of those who had still adhered to
 their banished Sovereign, and neither Party da-
 ring to disoblige a Queen, who held the Balance
 between them in her own Hands, readily chose
 their Commissioners. For the Loyalists were
 sent the Bishop of *Galloway*, with the Lords
Boyd and *Levingston*; and for the Associators,
 the Earl of *Morton*, and the Lord *Glamis*, the
 Nation being tax’d in twelve thousand Pounds,
 a round Sum in those Days, to defray their
 Charges.

The King of *France*, who expected no very
 good Issue of this second Pleading before the
English Council, in the mean Time arrested all
 the *Scottish* Ships whose Cocket ran not in
 Queen *Mary*’s Name, and seized upon their
 Cargo, remitting Part of the Product to the
 Loyalists for Defence of the Castle of *Dumbar-
 ton*. The unfortunate Queen at the same Time,
 oppressed with so many Injuries, and a tedious
 Confinement, fell so dangerously ill, that all her
 Physicians despaired of her Life; she continued in
 that Condition some Weeks, but it pleased God
 at last, and when all natural Means proved in-
 effectual, to restore her again to perfect Health.

During all these Accidents and Turns of
 State, *Grange*, the Governor of the Castle of
Edinburgh, play’d his own Game securely and
 undisturbed; for the Rebels, in Hopes to regain
 him, dissembled their Resentment of that scur-

vy Trick he had serv'd the Earl of *Morton*, and gave out that he was still on their Side. His first Exploit was to revenge himself upon one *Henry Seaton*, who was then at *Leith*, where *Grange's* Servants, whom he had sent thither expressly for that End, openly assaulted him, and tho' he endeavoured to defend himself as well as he could, barbarously murdered him before any of the Spectators (who were many, and not far off) could come up to his Assistance; but in their Return to the Castle, the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* apprehended *James Fleming*, one of these bold Assassins, and clapt him up in the common Prison. Every Body was at a Stand what to make of this Affair: If *Grange* should interceed for *Fleming*, he justified the Murder; and if he suffered him to be punished as one of his Servants, he might then pretend it was an Affront done to himself, and take Satisfaction at the City's Cost. But the Night put an End to their various Conjectures; for when most of the Citizens were a-Bed, he sent the best Part of his Garrison to break open the Prison Doors, who, without any Manner of Resistance, or the least Appearance of a Scuffle, carried off the Prisoner to the Castle: Nor did *Grange* end here; for to the greater Grief of the Citizens, he not only garrison'd the High Church, and planted some Guns on a Level with the High Street, but lodged an hundred Musqueteers near the Castle, under the Command of Captain *James Melvil*, to be maintained at the City's Charge.

The *Hamiltons* in the mean Time were not idle, and had beaten the Lord *Sempill* out of the Abbey of *Paisley*. The Regent (this Place not

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being considerable to either Party) had not been so haſty in retrieving the Loſs, if any other than the *Hamiltons* had taken it : But as theſe were indefatigable in the Service of their Queen, and being a very powerful Family, beſides, hating them for their juſt Pretenſion to the Crown, if his Grandſon died, it was his chief Care, as well as *Murray's*, to oppoſe their Force, and baffle their juſt and often ſucceſſful Attempts ; and indeed during the long Minority of the King, or rather during the Abſence of the Queen, they ſuffered ſo much for their Loyalty and Fidelity to that Princeſs, that nothing but the Mercy of God, and the Juſtice of their Cauſe, could have preſerved them from ſinking under the Weight of ſo many Miſfortunes as fell daily to their Share, under the Tyranny of three ſuch powerful Enemies, *Murray*, *Lenox*, and *Morton*, all inveſted with publick Authority, and the Power of doing Miſchief. But to return to the Buſineſs of the Abbey. The Regent made what Haſte he could to *Glaſgow*, and there gathering a conſiderable Number of Gentlemen, and common Soldiers, marches from thence to *Paiſley* ; but the Enemy inſtantly ſurrendered upon Diſcretion, ſeeing it in vain to reſiſt ſo powerful a Force. The Lord *Claud Hamilton*, and ſome of his Friends, remembering the Regent's Clemency to *Couts* and his Company at *Brechin*, to prevenr the like Miſfortune to their Relations, who had thus fallen into his Hands, painfully ſcoured the High-ways, and took ſeveral Priſoners as they were coming from or going to *Paiſley* or *Glaſgow*, in Hopes to have made a fair Exchange ; but the Regent, without any Man-
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ner of Regard to those Gentlemen in the Lord Claud Hamilton's Custody, carried his Prisoners to *Edinburgh*, where they were, as a severe Instance of his Cruelty, hanged at the Market-crofs.

In these Revolutions and Convulsions of State, the Churchmen were so far from being passive for the Queen, that they openly aggravated those Crimes of which she was accused, and contrary to the excellent Rules of that holy Religion they professed and taught, instead of softening the blind Zeal of the furious Bigot, they heightened his Discontent, and by their Practice openly avowed, "That to pray for, or forgive our real or reputed Enemies, was no Part of a Christian's Duty, perverting the sacred Precepts of the divine Scriptures, and applying all their Inferences to maintain the Lawfulness of Rebellion, and that Kings and Queens, the Almighty's Vicegerents upon Earth, were accountable to the People, as lawful Judges of all their Actions." Mr. *John Knox*, a very religious Man *, but one who too often suffered his Zeal to outstrip his Judgment, of vast Repute amongst the Clergy, and who possessed the best Benefice of the Kingdom, (for he was Minister of the High Church of *Edinburgh*) first ceased to pray for the Queen in publick. This did not much surprise those who were sufficiently acquainted with the hot Temper of the Man; but a young Gentleman, of the Name of *Innes*, having chalk'd a severe Reprimand upon his Door,

* It is not easy to say what can be meant by these Words.

Door, for this Want of Charity and Duty to his Sovereign, Mr. *John* was so far from reforming himself, who had hitherto reformed others, that next *Sunday*, it being his Turn to preach, whatever was his Text, *Civil Business* was the Substance of his Sermon * ; for after a long In-
vective

* In what Terms this Sermon was delivered, I believe none know at this Day, but we still have it as he himself put it in Writing, after he was censured for his railing ; out of which we here subjoin some select Notes :

“ That I have called her an obstinate Idolatrice, one that consented to the Murder of her own Husband, and one that has committed Whoredome and villainous Adultery, I gladly grant, and never minds to deny : But Railing and Sedition they are never able to prove in me, till that first they compel *Eesai*, *Jeremie*, and *Ezechiel*, *St. Paul*, and others, to recant ; of whom I have learned plainly and boldly to call Wickedness by its own Terms, a Fig a Fig, and a Spade a Spade. —

“ If she be innocent of any of the Crimes laid to her Charge by me, then may I be accused as a Railer ; but if their own Consciences bear Witnesse to them that she is guilty in all the afore-named, and every one of them, and in many more, let them study how they shall be absolved before God, who threatens to cast *Jesabel* in a Bed, and them that commit Fornication with her, in great Affliction, except they repent. How many flattered her when she raged in her Iniquity, under the Cloak of Authority, some within this Realme, and within this same City, understand ; but how that God, the just Judge, hath overthrown her Pride, and disappointed their false flattering Promises, the whole World can witness ; and yet they will not cease, but still will maintain her as she were an Innocent, and unjustly handled of her Subjects. Let her and her Maintainers complain upon God, who made her chief Flatterers her chiefest Enemies. —

“ Now to the rest of my Accusations : I pray not for her : I answer, I am not bound to pray for her in this Place, for Sovereign to me she is not. — I prayed till I was forbidden, but this Manner of speaking the World knows not. They term her their Sovereign, and themselves the Nobility and Subjects professing her Obedience. In this they confess themselves Traitors, and so am not I bound to answer them,

veſtive againſt the Queen and her Adherents
and a notable Panegyrick on her Enemies, and
the Juſtice of their Cauſe, which he affirmed
to be God's Cauſe, and the Nation's, he conclu-
ded in theſe remarkable Words: " What o-
thers may think I know not, nor do I care
" but

them, nor yet their Accuſation, till that they give Anſwer
to my Peremptor.

" As to the Imprecations made againſt her, whereof
I am accuſed, I have willingly confeſſed, that I have deſired
and in my Heart deſire, that God, of his Mercy, for the
comfort of his pure Flock within this Realme, will oppoſe
his Power to her Pride, and confound her and her Flatter-
ers and Aſſiſters in her Impiety. I praiſe my God, he of
his Mercy has not diſappointed me of my juſt Prayer, let
them call it Imprecation or Execration as pleaſes them. It
has oftner than once ſtriken, and ſhall ſtrike, in Deſpite of
Man, maintain and defend her whoſo liſt.

" I am further accuſed that I ſpeak of their Sovereignty
(mine ſhe is not) as that ſhe were a Reprobate, affirming
that ſhe cannot repent; whereto I anſwer, that the Accuſer
is a Calumniator, and a manifeſt Liar, for he is never able
to prove that at any Time I have ſaid that ſhe could not re-
pent; but I have ſaid, and yet ſay, that Pride and Repen-
tance abide not in one Heart of any long Continuance.

What Title ſhe has, or ever had to this Realm, and to the
Authority thereof, I liſt not to enter in Contention. How
ſhe was dejected from it, let the Eſtates anſwer. —

" What I have ſpoken againſt the Adultery, againſt the
Murthers, againſt the Pride, and againſt the Idolatry of
that wicked Woman, I ſpake not as one that entred in God's
ſecret Counſel, but being one, of God's great Mercy, called
to preach, according to his bleſſed Will, revealed in his ho-
ly Word, have oftner than once pronounced the Threaten-
ings of his Law againſt ſuch as have been of Counſel, of
Knowledge, of Aſſiſtance, or Conſent, that innocent Blood
ſhould be ſhed. And this ſame Thing I have pronounced a-
gainſt all and ſundry that go about to maintain that wicked
Woman, and the Band of thoſe Murderers, that they ſuffer
not the Death according to his Word, that the Plague may
be taken from this Realme, which ſhall never be, ſo long as
ſhe and they remain unpuniſhed, according to the Sentence
of God's Law. —

but *Mary Stuart* never was a Queen in my Opinion, and I am sure she is none now; nor shall I ever be forced against the Light of mine own Conscience, to acknowledge her hereafter instead of our Sovereign the King, since God and the People of this Land have laid her justly aside for her crying Sins." For did he stop here; for having gathered his brethren in Office together, it was unanimously resolved, "That for ever hereafter no Clergyman should presume to pray for her, *she being utterly unworthy of sik a Benefit.*" Upon which Mr. *Innes* boldly affixed these two Lines upon the Church-door where they were assembled, and in open Day too, whilst some of the clergy were looking on:

*Dum disciplinæ cessant, regnatque simulas,
Deficit ecclesiæ virtus, pariterque facultas.*

This Ill-nature of the Church was no small drop to the Regent's Authority, and an Encouragement to him to act vigorously in suppressing her Enemies. The Castle of *Dumbarton* was still a constant Thorn in his Foot, and an Eye-sore to his Friends; and having in vain, like his Predecessor, hitherto attempted to be Master of that Fort, he resolved now to try what Art could do, since Force had so often proved ineffectual: He had got some Information that there was a Possibility of taking this Castle by Surprise, and proposed the Execution of the Design to Captain *Thomas Crawford* of *Jordanhill* *, a
Man

* A Son of the ancient Family of *Kilbirnie*, in the Shire of *Ayr*, now dignified with the Title of Viscount of *Gor-*

Man of Courage and Experience : He however resolved not, in a Business of so much Importance, to rely entirely upon his own Judgment and therefore, with the Regent's Consent, communicates the same to the Laird of *Drumquhannel*, who was an able Soldier, and a cunning Statesman. In a few Days they luckily found out one *Robertson*, who had served in the Castle and was perfectly well acquainted with every Step of the Rock : But to give the Reader a better Idea of the Boldness of this Attempt, I shall here give him a short Description of the Place which I have presumed to borrow.

From the Confluence of the Rivers *Clyde* and *Levin*, there is a plain Champaign of about Mile, extended to the Foot of the adjoining Mountains, and in the very Angle where the two Rivers meet there stands a Rock with two Points or Heads ; one of these (and which is the highest) looks towards the West, and has a Watch-tower built upon the Top of it ; the other looks to the East ; and between them on that Side which respects the North, there are Stairs cut out by Mens Hands, ascending obliquely by the Sides of the Rock, which is extremely hard, and where no more than a single Person can go up at once. In the upper Part of the Castle there is an huge stony Rock, of the Nature of a Loadstone, but so closely cemented and fastened to the rest of the Rock, that no Seam or Commissure does at all appear. When the River *Clyde* runs by to the South, the Rock (naturally steep in other Parts) is somewhat bending, and stretching out its Arms on both Sides, takes in some firm Land, which is

enclosed by Nature and Art together, that in the overthwart or transverse Sides thereof, it affords Place for many Houses ; and likewise in the River, a Road for Ships, very safe for the Inhabitants, by playing Guns from thence, but unsafe for an Enemy : Small Boats too may come up almost to the very Gate of the Castle. The middle Part of the Rock by which you go up being full of Buildings, makes, as it were, another Castle distinct and secluded from the higher one ; besides the natural Fortification of the Rock, the two Rivers, *Levin* to the West, and *Clyde* to the South, make a kind of Graff and Trench about it. On the East-side, when the Tide is in, the Sea washes the very Foot of the Rock ; and when it is out, the Place, by reason of the Fatness of the Soil, is extremely soft and muddy. The Castle has no less than three Fountains in it, and was in short accounted impregnable, and of singular Advantage to those that held it. *John Lord Fleming* was Governor thereof for the Queen, and trusted more than he ought to have done to the Strength of the Place, and the Carelessness of his Enemies. But to return to the Undertaking :

The Attempt being one of the most hazardous that can be imagined, and *Crawfurd* knowing that all those engaged in the Affair were sure to perish, if the least Mischance betrayed their Design to the Garrison ; after he had largely bribed *Robertson*, and promised more than he had yet given, to secure him to his Interest, he took his Daughter and Son-in-law as Pledges for his Fidelity, and left them in the Hands of the Regent. All Things being now prepared

red as the present Haste would permit, one *John Cunningham* was sent before with a few light Horse, to stop all Passengers, that so their Enemy might have no Intelligence of their coming. *Crawfurd* followed after with his Company of Foot, and about Midnight came to *Dumbeck*, an Hill about a Mile or two from the Castle, where, as it had been before concerted, he was met by *Dumquhaisel* and Capt. *Hume*, with an hundred Men. There he acquainted the Soldiers for what End they had marched so cautiously, and having sufficiently insisted upon the Honour of the Attempt, and that Service they were to perform for the Good of their King and their Country; and having shown to them *Robertson*, who was to lead them on, desired any of them that found himself under the Apprehension of Fear, now to steal off in the Dark, and not draw back when it was too late, and when their Cowardice might occasion the Ruin of their bolder Fellows. But instead of that, every one was proud of being selected from the Troops, and look'd upon this as a Sign of his Courage, and a Proof of his own Merit. The Ropes and Ladders prepared for the Execution of the Design, were immediately distributed amongst the Foot, and the Horse were ordered to stand upon the Hill, and wait the Event of the Undertaking. About an Hour before Day they reached the Foot of the Rock; and having planted their first Ladders, which were long and weighty, and not well fastened at Foot, they increased their own Danger, and almost disheartened the Soldiers for good and all; for on a sudden these Ladders slipt, and every Man that had got upon them

them tumbled down again to the Ground. This Accident, as it taught them Fear, inspired Caution too ; so that having fastened their Ladders better, and ascended with less Haste, they had at last the good Fortune to reach the Middle of the Rock, where they found a Conveniency of standing : In that Gap, or rather Flat, they met too with an Ash Shrub growing there by Accident amongst the Stones, which did them considerable Service ; for having tied their Ropes to it, they lifted up those who were still below to the Middle of the Rock, and at the same Time, having drawn up their Ladders, others were mounting to the Top thereof : But here they met with a new Misfortune, which it was impossible they could foresee ; for one of the Soldiers, when he was upon one of these Ladders which were planted upon the Middle of the Rock, in order to ascend to the Top, was suddenly seized with a kind of apoplectick Fit, and struck so fast by his Hold, that it was impossible for those who were under him to get up. This Trouble, however, was easily removed, and the Manner how, sufficiently manifested their wonderful Presence of Mind ; for having bound him to the Ladder, that he might not fall off when his Fit was over, they turned the same, and ascended over his Belly, without doing him any Hurt, and got all safe to the Top of the Rock. Here they had yet another Difficulty to encounter, for they had a Wall to climb, and were forced to plant their Ladders a third Time, with great Danger, and very narrow Footing : However, that was overcome too by their Industry and Courage, and one *Ramsay* got first

upon it : The Centinel presently spied him, and gave the Alarm, which cost him his Life, for *Ramsay* dispatched him at one lucky Blow. In the mean Time *Crawfurd* and the rest making great Haste to get after him, the Wall, which was very old, with so much unusual Weight, fell down, and made an easy Passage for the rest, the Rubbish too making their Descent more easy thro' the Rock, which even within the Castle was steep and rugged. Being all assembled in one Body, they haste to the Governor's Lodgings, crying aloud, *A Darnly, A Darnly*, for that was the Word ; but the Soldiers, terrified with the sudden Noise, and not knowing the Strength of the Enemy, made no Manner of Resistance, and the Governor escaped all alone by slipping down thro' the oblique Rock, and, the Tide being in, got away in a small Boat to *Argyle* *. Besides the common Centinels, there were taken in the Castle, *John Hamilton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, *Verac* the French Ambassador, who was set at Liberty the next Day, *John Fleming* of *Boghal*, and *Alexander Levingston*, who were all sent under a strong Guard to the Castle of *Stirling*. The Regent being informed of *Crawfurd's* Success, came thither in Person in the Afternoon, and having viewed the Rock by which the Soldiers ascended, it seemed so very difficult, not only to him, but to themselves, that all of them confessed, " That if they had foreseen and con-

sidered

* He was assisted in his Escape by one of his own Servants, a Son-in law to *Robertson*, who had, notwithstanding all that is here said, assisted *Robertson* in betraying the Castle to the Enemy.

“sidered the Danger of the Service, no Reward
“could have tempted them to undertake it.”
Indeed he rewarded them nobly, and very gene-
rously comforted the Lady *Fleming* for her Hus-
band (the Governor’s) Losses, allowing her not
only to depart with her Plate, and all her Hou-
shold Furniture, untouched, but at the same
Time settled upon her, for an Aliment, Part of
her Husband’s Estate, which had been long be-
fore entirely forfeited to the young King in the
Beginning of *Murray’s* Regency.

This unexampled Generosity † of the Regent’s
was highly extolled and applauded by all honest
Men; but a bad Action, which too soon fol-
lowed, easily obliterated the Memory and Merit
of this good one. The Castle was surpris’d the
2d of *April*; and on the 5th of the same Month,
the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* received his In-
dictment for High Treason. The Libel or
Charge was reduced to these particular Heads :

“ *Imprimis*, He knew and was participant *
“ of King *Henry’s* Murder.”

“ 2. *Item*, That he conspired against the
“ King’s Person, at the Murther of the first Re-
“ gent, intending to have surpris’d the Castle of
“ *Stirling*, and to have been Master thereof at
“ his Pleasure.

“ 3. *Item*, That he knew or was participant
“ of the Murther of *James* Earl of *Murray*, late
“ Regent.

“ *Item*, That he lay in Wait at the Wood
P 3 “ of

† Why all this ado about Generosity, as if the Lady
had got any thing but her own?

* participant, An Accomplice or Partner in the Crimes.

“ of Callendar, for the Slaughter of Matthew
 “ Earl of Lenox now Regent.

Being called to the Bar, before the Indictment was read, he moved that he might be proceeded against in the ordinary Form, and have a longer Day allowed him to prepare his Defences, but being over-ruled by the Court, and finding they were resolved upon his Ruin, he behaved himself with that Ingenuity, Moderation and Courage, which became his Office. The first, second and fourth Articles of his Charge he denied with a solemn and religious Asseveration; but to the third he candidly answered, “ I not
 “ only knew thereof, and wald not stop it,
 “ but rather furtherit the Deed thereof, whilk I
 “ heartily repent, and ask my God Mercy for the
 “ same*.” As to the first Head of the Indictment, one Witness only appeared against him, and that one but a mercenary Priest; his Name was *Thomas Robertson*; he affirmed, “ That one *John*
 “ *Hamilton*, alias *Black John*, (at that Time the
 “ Bishop’s Servant) sent for him when he was
 “ a-dying, and amongst many other Crimes,
 “ confessed, That by his Master’s Order he was
 “ present at the Murder of the King.” The Bishop calmly heard *Robertson’s* Evidence, and addressing himself to his Judges, only said,
 “ The Priest sinneth deadly to lie upon me, who
 “ knoweth nothing of that Matter, and mindeth
 “ not that it is a Sin also to reveal Confession.”
 The End of this Indictment, Evidence, and
 sham

* So the old Writer of the Memoirs of the four Regents: — But the Thing is improbable, and even Knox and Buchanan seem to have known nothing of such a Confession.

nam Trial, was only to blind the Rabble, and blacken his Reputation, to excuse the Injustice of his Enemies ; for he was suddenly sentenced to be hanged, and as hastily executed, upon the common Score of Rebellion against the King, of which the greatest Half of the Nation was guilty. In short, the whole Stress of the Sentence was laid upon a Doom of Forfeiture led against him in one of *Murray's* Parliaments, to cover the Informalities of his Trial ; and the Reader will be fully informed of his Innocence by the 18th Paragraph of the grand Treaty at *Perth*. This was the first Bishop that ever suffered in *Scotland* by a Form of Justice. He was a Man active in Business, of a very sound Judgment, and learned beyond any of the Clergy in his Time ; nor could his worst Enemies have robbed him of the Character of a good Man, if his Incontinency *, to which he was something addicted in his younger Years, had not too plainly indulged their Malice. A Day or two before this, *Morton*, and the rest of his Associates, had arrived in *Scotland*, nothing being yet determined for or against Queen *Mary* at the Court of *England*, and was by many People reputed the Author, at least the Abettor of this great Prelate's Death, tho' it is most certain the Crime was all the Regent's own. But one who is often guilty is always liable to Suspicion ; and *Morton* being a very ill Man, as appears in the whole Course

* The Reader must be informed, that he had been married before he took the religious Vow, and had Children in lawful Wedlock, as appears in Part by the 18th Art. of the Treaty at *Perth*, *infra* ; and from this some bad Men took Occasion to brand him with Incontinency.

Course of his Life, had the common Fate of bearing sometimes on his Shoulders the Faults of others who were not so openly wicked as himself †. It was confidently reported too, that his Execution was hastened, lest the Queen of *England* should have interceded for his Life: But this Story has a less Appearance of Truth than the former, if it is considered, " That he was " intirely in the Interest of the *Scots* Queen; " that he was a Brother of the Duke of *Castile*; " *herault's*, and an hereditary Enemy to *Lenox*; " who was more properly her Agent in *Scot-* " *land*, than the Guardian of his Grandson." To conclude, that Night he was executed, some malicious Idler affixed these two Lines upon the Gibbet:

*Cresce diu felix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondebis, ut nobis talia poma feras.*

To these was added the succeeding Night, that they deserved not the Honour of being noticed upon such an Occasion:

*Infelix pereas arbor: sin forte virebis,
In primis utinam carminis auctor eat*.*

† *Lenox* was surely wicked enough to do this of himself; however *Morton*, as *Sir James Melvil* writes, was making Interest for the Revenues of *St. Andrews*.

* To this some add, that the Author of the preceding Distich had the Honour soon after to be hang'd, together with his Son-in-law, upon the same Tree; on which Occasion no other Lamentation was made than is contained in the two following Lines:

*Crevit, ut optabas, ramis felicibus arbor,
Et fructum nobis te generumque tulit,*

* Other
by many

The Archbishop's Death remained not long unrevenged ; for not only his own Relations, but, generally speaking, all the Loyalists, were much exasperated against the Author ; and indeed all the indifferent Men of the Kingdom confessed, " That without Regard to his Birth, his Office might have secured him from so shameful an End, a Halter being the Reward of the meanest Foot Pad and Shop-lifter ;" and it is too notorious that from this Act alone a two Years War commenced. To begin the Work, Huntly, Lethington, *Monsieur Verac*, the Lord *Claud Hamilton*, *Herries*, and others, posted to *Edinburgh*. *Grange*, the Governor of the Castle, searched the Town-house, and robbed the Citizens of their Arms and Magazine ; and the Regent sent two of his Captains, *Hume* and *Ramsay*, from *Dalkeith* to *Leith*, to hire Soldiers. These, lest *Grange* had intercepted them, and that they might be in a Condition to press Men, if none should list themselves with good Will, had each of them a Guard of Horse, amounting in all to about 130 *. With this Backing they set out on a Sunday's Forenoon, being the 29th Day of April ; and tho' *Edinburgh* lay not directly in their Way to *Leith*, yet they resolved to make it so, and as they passed by the Eastern Gate, fired in several Shot, which killed and wounded some of the Citizens. No Man appeared to resent the Injury ; and when they returned the next Day from *Leith*, now two hundred strong, they resolved once more to affront the Enemy, and

* Others say, 120 Foot, and 30 Horsemen ; and others by many more.

and fired in at the Gate as formerly. The City in the mean Time sheltered them from the Cannon of the Castle, and *Grange* not being able to do them any Hurt that Way, sent a Detachment from his Garrison of 150 Musqueteers, and 50 Piques, to pursue them. With these went some of the Citizens, Volunteers, the Earl of *Huntly*, the Lord *Hume*, and my Lords *Coldingham* and *Kilwinning*, each of them attended with two Horsemen only; *Hume* and *Ramsay* marched but slowly, so that the Loyalists easily overtook them in the *Burrow-moor*. They engaged briskly at the *Pow-burn*, but the latter were beaten back again with some Loss, as far as the *Kirk-of-field*, within the Liberties of the City. Here many of the Citizens came to their Assistance, and the two Captains retreated now as fast as they had pursued before, but being closely followed, they were a second Time overtaken, and having fac'd about, at a Place of the Heath or Muir called the *Lowfie-Law*, they behaved themselves so valiantly, that the Loyalists were again shamefully beaten, and forced to shelter themselves in the City, with twice that Loss they had sustained before*. This Scuffle was commonly called the Battle of *Lowfie-Law*. Monsieur *Verac*, about this Time, went back to *France*, attended by *John Chisholm*.

The News of this Squabble (for the Cowardice of the Loyalists† will hardly allow it a better Name) began a vigorous War between the Parties,

* In the old Memoirs of the four Regents it is only said, "They debated valiantly at *Lowfie-Law*."

† And yet the same Memoirs tell expressly, that these Loyalists were fewer in Number than the others.

es, and hastened the Preparations on both Sides. The Regent and his Friends, that they might at least be near the Metropolitan, since they could not possess it, posted themselves in *Leith*, and fortified that Town as well as they could; and those who adhered to the Queen made the same Haste, some of them to *Edinburgh*, and others to *Hamilton*, to wait upon the Duke of *Chastelherault*. It was now indeed that *Scotland* was a *Kingdom divided against itself*. Rapines and Bloodshed became the Ornaments of a Man's Family, and to destroy one's Countryman and Fellow Subject was grown an Act of greater Reputation, (at a Time too when the Nation was reformed) than the killing of twenty Infidels had ever been in those holy Wars managed during the Reign of Bigotry and Popery. The very Children had their own little Piques upon the Score of the publick Quarrel, and when they were yet hardly ripe enough to pronounce Words distinctly, would be calling themselves *Kings-Men* and *Queens-Men*, the ordinary Phrase to distinguish the Parties. The Good Town (for so we often call the City of *Edinburgh*) was a lively Scene of those Miseries under which the Nation groaned; those who were peaceably disposed, or at least, like most Traders, were only factious in Words, were forced to abandon their Houses, which were generally possessed by the Soldiery, or their necessitous Neighbours, whom Want had rendered valiant; and those who remained within the Walls were so heartily divided, that at last they often encountered one another with greater Heat and Fury than is to be found amongst Stran-

Strangers, or they had ever shown against a neighbouring Enemy, with whom Interest, Custom, and Force of Education had set them perpetually at Odds, and where new Generations only succeeded to pursue the Quarrels of their Fathers. The Archbishop's Death, and the Skirmish of *Burrow-moor*, were not the only Accidents that gave Life to these Animosities for at the very same Time the Lord *Boyd* came Home from Queen *Mary*, with blank Commissions for Lieutenants or Governors of Shires, to be filled up by the Duke of *Chastelherault*, and a few others, as they should find most expedient for her Interest; and the Laird of *Grantully* came after him in less than five Days, with Letters and Instructions to the same Purpose. This with the Duke of *Alva*'s Compliment already mentioned, *Chastelherault*'s Liberty, *Grange* and *Lethington*'s Return to their Duty, and the Possession of the Metropolitan City, made the Loyalists, (who if *England* had been neuter, were in a Condition to beat their Enemies) much stronger than they were before, and sufficiently repaid their Losses, at *Brichen*, *Dumfries* and *Dumbarton*. In short they were so very powerful, that *Morton*, who before never dream'd of a Peace, and who was the Queen's greatest Enemy, and one who had been all along the secret Spring that moved this great Machine of Rebellion, and therefore had better Grounds to be afraid of Punishment than any of his Party now used his utmost Interest to bring Matters to an Accommodation, and woo'd the Lord *Boyd* to a private Meeting for that End at the Earl of *Glencairn*'s House.

Many People were pleased to affirm, "That all this was mere Artifice, and that there was no other Design at the Bottom of it but to gain *Boyd*, and either to wheedle him out of his Honesty, or render him suspected to the Queen, that he might be useless for the future." But it is certain, a Treaty of Peace was really intended in this secret Meeting; for *Boyd*, who would undertake nothing alone, brought the Articles drawn up by *Morton*, and written with that Earl's own Hand, to the Loyalists at *Edinburgh*, who in a full Meeting in the Castle rejected them, unhappily trusting to their present Strength, and forgetting that the *English* would never suffer them to conquer, or if they did, would fall upon the Conqueror, when spent and weakened with the dear bought Victory.

To Strangers it will at first Sight appear surprising, that a Nation who, to preserve her Liberties from the Insults of her encroaching Neighbours, and their Predecessors, had for 800 Years, and upwards, sacrificed Millions of her Sons, and spilt so much Blood, should thus tamely suffer herself to be whipp'd and lash'd, feel no Smart, forget the Shame, and like a School-boy kiss the Rod, and fawn upon the Tyrant that corrected her. Before that Time the Scots had often thought themselves affronted by the *English* when these meant it not, and have often disputed their Quarrels of Honour even with unequal Numbers, so very jealous they were of that Nation, and their Freedom. But this Sloth, and Want of Heat, was only owing to a Civil War at Home: And the passive Hu-

mour of the *Scots* will appear no more a Wonder, when the Reader considers, that those who had rebelled against their Sovereign, despairing of Pardon, and being indeed the weaker Party, to save themselves from Punishment, were justly glad of foreign Aid; and those who adhered to the Queen were seldom sincerely fond of an Agreement, relying upon the Justice of their Cause, and their own Numbers, and always expecting a powerful Assistance from *France* and *Spain*.

The Duke of *Chastelherault* having now gathered together most of his Friends and Vassals, marched to *Edinburgh*, with a Guard of 300 Horse, and 100 Foot; after him came the Earl of *Argyle*, my Lord *Arbroth* and my Lord *Boyd*; and at the same Time arrived from *France*, Sir *James Kirkaldy*, with a Compliment from that King of ten thousand Crowns, some Murrions, Crosslets, Muskets, and good Store of Wine. He landed at *Leith*; and tho' the Regent and most of his Troops were in that Town, yet so strong a Guard of Foot and Horse came from *Edinburgh* to wait upon him, that all Things were brought safe to the Castle, even before the Face of the Enemy, and without so much as one picqueering Shot on either Side. With this *French* Money the Loyalists considerably increased the Number of their Forces, the Ports and Avenues of the City were fortified, the Walls repaired, and Soldiers posted in the most convenient Quarters, both to defend the Citizens, and to keep them from Tumults, to which they were very much inclined. The Clerks and Keepers of the publick Register were

ordered to deliver up the Books of Parliament and Council ; all those who acknowledged not the Queen's Authority, were commanded instantly to retire out of the City : New Magistrates, and such only as had behaved themselves loyally, were chosen ; and the Ministers were expressly ordered to pray for the Queen in Publick ; but most of these fled, and amongst the rest Mr. *Knox*, who by no Means would be guilty of breaking his Word*. This fam'd Preacher skulked in St. *Andrews*, and *Alexander* Bishop of *Galloway* possessed his Pulpit in his Absence.—It was observed that during this new Civil War, if we may give it that Name, which lasted almost two Years, not one Communicant was found within the Walls of *Edinburgh*, so far had the Clergy dipp'd themselves in the publick Broils.

At *Leith* they were not unmindful of their Business : It was by *Morton's* Advice concluded to hold a Parliament, because that never failed to stamp their Actions with the Face of Authority. The Members had been before summoned to meet at *Edinburgh*, but that City being now possessed by the Enemy, they were put to it where to meet. At last they pitch upon a Place in the *Canongate*, called *St. John's Cross*, it being agreed upon by their Lawyers, " That in any Part of the City the Meeting of the Estates would be found lawful, and this Cross, tho' without the Gates, was owned to be within the Liberties : " So very fond are Men of being reputed just, that even when they had

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* Yet had he past his Word not to flee,

forfeited their Honour and their Oaths, wasted their Country, and betrayed their Queen, yet they would stick to Forms, and pretend to Methods. To keep the Soldiers of the City and Castle from disturbing them, they placed a strong Guard at the *Dowcraig*, and another at one Captain *Lawson's* House in *Leith-wynd*, and in short managed their Business so successfully, that during their sham Parliament, which sat but very few Days, they killed some, and wounded above thirty Citizens, forfeited Secretary *Leithington* and his two Brethren, Mr. *Thomas* and the Commendator, and *William Hamilton*, Son to the Archbishop, whom they had lately executed, and then returned to *Leith*. As soon as they were gone, the Loyalists opened the Gates, and the City Soldiers, assisted by those of the Castle, came down, and burnt their Place of Meeting, and several other Houses in the Suburbs, which belonged to some of the Party. This happened on the 19th Day of *May*, and on the 20th the Regent went to *Stirling*, whither he called the ordinary Judges of Session. The Soldiers of the City saw him march by with a weak Guard, and resolved to pay him home now for those Losses they had lately met with; but tho' they made what Haste they could, they came not up with the Enemy till the Regent was gone, who had only kept a few light Horse for his own Safety, and left all the Foot with *Morton* at *Corstorphin*. Here it was easy for the Loyalists, who were superior in Number, to have sacrificed *Morton* and his little Army, but they were so far from making Use of the Opportunity, or indeed were rather so much infa-

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tuated, that they tamely suffered him to escape to *Dalkeith*, and pursued so faintly that they looked like Men afraid of seeing even their Enemies Backs*.

This Farce, or Mock-fight, proved however the Prologue to a more serious Action; for *Morton* the next Day, in Return for this imaginary Affront, of a most necessary Retreat, beset all the High-ways and Roads which led to the City, to prevent Provisions from being carried thither; and not only spoiled the Farmers and common Carriers of their Goods, but of their Horses too, upon which he mounted those of his Party who wanted, or would not engage in the Foot Service. The Loyalists, to regain their lost Honour, and to repay this Injury all at once, send out a strong Body of Horse and Foot †, in Hopes to surprise *Morton* in *Dalkeith*, and to have fired that Town before Day-light, the better to confound the Enemy, and keep them from drawing hastily to their Arms; and indeed they marched silently enough, and in good Order, as far as *Sheriff-hall-muir*, where they found the Earl (who had been advertised of their coming) ready to receive them. The City Army gave the first Charge, but stood not to their Ground; for the Rebels disputed it so valiantly, that they beat the Loyalists back as far as the March of the *Burrow-Muir*. *Morton's* Soldiers, secure of Victory, and bold with their former Success, pursued

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* *Lenox* came to *Leith* with about 6000, and those within *Edinburgh* had not 1000 in all. The old Memoirs have it, that *Morton* gave back all the Way till he got to *Dalkeith*.

† This strong Body is said by *Bannatyne* to have consisted of about 600 only.

sued the Foe too fast, and in Disorder, the other fled in one entire Body, and perceiving the Conquerors thus scattered, at last overcome with their Disgrace and the Opportunity, they fairly turned upon them, and gave them a total Overthrow. It is certain the City Army gained no Laurels by the Victory ; for besides that they had fled shamefully at first, it was known to every Body that *Morton* was no Soldier, and that his Troops were by much the weaker and fewer in Number. In this Conflict the Earl lost four Men, the young Laird of *Kirkmichael*, *Andrew Halyburton*, *Robert Hepburn*, and 50 common Soldiers, were taken Prisoners. The Loyalists lost but one Man, and had Captain *Halkerston* only taken. That so few were killed, was owing to the heavy Rains which fell before the Sun-rising, upon the Loyalists, who were first in the Field, and rendered most of their Fire-Arms useless ; but more to an Accident, which had put a speedy Close to the late Pursuit, for *James Melvil*, one of the Captains of the City Army, as he was distributing great Quantities of Powder, and in greater Haste (during the Time of Action) one of the Soldiers who had a loose Match in his Hand, as he was receiving his Share, unluckily dropt it, which blew up the whole, and not only miserably hurt himself and the Captain, but several others, of which a few died in a Day or two after. It was from this lighted Match that this Skirmish was for some Time distinguished from the rest by the Name of *Lunt-Fight*.

The Queen of *England* thinking it now high Time to balance the contending Parties, sent

Sir William Drury Mareſchal of Berwick, to ſet a Treaty of Peace on Foot betwixt them ; but indeed to know exactly the true State of *Affairs* in Scotland, and if he could not get the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* out of the Scots Queen's Hands by fair Means, to make him ſo well acquainted with it now, that he might not be at a Loſs, if ſhe ſent him afterwards, to take it by Force. The very next Day after his Arrival he went up to the Caſtle, and propoſed from the Rebels, " That *Grange* ſhould ſurrender the ſame to the Regent, who conſented that he ſhould march out with Bag and Baggage, and that all the Loyalists ſhould abandon the City, upon Affurances of a general Indemnity for their Rebellion againſt the young King." Nothing but underhand Promiſes from *Drury*, of *English* Aſſiſtance, could encourage them to proffer ſuch hard Conditions to thoſe who were ſtronger than themſelves ; and leſt the common People had ſmelt out the Plot, who loved not to ſee Strangers haraſs the Country for either Party, they were ſatiſfied the next Day to allow that *Grange*, as a Pledge for the promiſed Indemnity, and that the whole Party ſhould be honourably and juſtly uſed, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the Caſtle, but with ſuch a Garrifon only as was ever thought abſolutely neceſſary in Time of Peace. The Loyalists. to give Queen *Elizabeth* (if poſſible) no juſt Occaſion of aſſiſting their Enemies, treated *Drury* with more Reſpect than he could reaſonably hope from his Birth or Commiſſion, and willingly offered to quit the City upon Condition, " That nor the Regent nor *Morton* ſhould come into it when they were
" gone :

“ gone : As for the Castle, they only desired
 “ that the Governor should have 150 Men and
 “ allowed him besides the ordinary Garrison, and
 “ that they should be quartered in the City
 “ within the Shelter of the Cannon.” But to be
 brief, the Treaty came to nothing but Blows.

This tampering of *Drury's* for a Peace, wrought nevertheless some Change in the State of Affairs for those of the City who either lik'd not the Queen, or the new Magistracy, went off in one entire Body to *Leith*, and there set up a Standard of their own, upon which was written in gilded Letters, *For God and the King*. All dissatisfied Persons had been before this Time ordered to march out ; but it seems they thought it safest to dissemble their Principles and Inclinations till they should see *England* espouse their Quarrel, which they now look'd upon as done. The Loyalists, who believed the Name of a Parliament had tempted them to this Revolt, resolved now not to be any longer behind Hand with the Enemy that Way, and indeed they had neglected it too long ; for that Want, their late Behaviour in the Field, and *Drury's* coming, was enough to have baulked their growing Power.

The 12th Day of *June* the loyal Parliament met, to whom a Supplication was presented from the banished Queen, containing that “ It
 “ was not unknown to them how some of her
 “ rebellious Subjects having imprisoned her in
 “ the Castle of *Lochleven*, she was there forced,
 “ to save her Life, to resign the Crown in Favour
 “ of her Son an Infant ; the Narrative of
 “ which Resignation was not consistent with
 “ Law

Law nor Sense, since it was founded upon her Inability and Weakness to govern ; which yet must be allowed to be greater than in a Child at that Time in his Cradle ; nor could she resign the Crown without the Consent of the Estates, and put the whole Administration of Scots Affairs into the Hands of the Earl of Lenox, who by virtue of that pretended Resignation was now Regent, since he was by no Means discharged from his Allegiance to a foreign Crown. In Consideration whereof, she desired the Nobility there present to examine the Grounds of the said Resignation or Demission, and if they found the same unlawful, to decern accordingly."

The several Heads or Clauses of this Supplication being separately read, and put to the Vote, the following Sentence was pronounced :

"The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with the Commissioners of Burghs presently assembled, being ripely advised with the Supplication presented, have by Authority of Parliament, ordained the said pretended Demission, Renunciation, and over-giving of the Crown by the Queen, consequently the Coronation of her Son, the usurped Government of his Regents, and all that have followed thereupon, to have been from the Beginning null, and of no Force nor Effect, for the Reasons contained in the said Supplication, and other Considerations, notour to the whole Estates. And therefore commands all the Subjects to acknowledge the Queen for their only Sovereign, notwithstanding the said Demission, and as it had never been *in rerum natura*."

By

By another Act it was expressly provided
 " That none should innovate, alter, or pervert
 " the Form of Religion, and Administration
 " of the Sacraments, presently professed and
 " established within the Realm, but that the same
 " should have free Course, without any Lett
 " Impediment to be made thereto.

In this Act all the Clergy were ordered to pray
 for the Queen as their Sovereign, the young Prince
 the Council, &c. By the first it was likewise ena
 ed, " That all Coins, Letters, &c. should be
 " in her Majesty's Name." And on the 13th
June both these Acts were proclaimed with
 usual Solemnities at the Market-cross of *Edin*
burgh, and a new Parliament called by both
 Parties to meet in *August* next.

The Associators, during this short Session
 Parliament, were busied in fortifying *Leith*, &
 augmenting the Number of their Troops. Cap
 tain *Michael Wemyss*, an experienced Soldier
 was coming Home from *Denmark* with his Com
 pany, consisting of an hundred Men, being en
 gaged in their Service by the Earl of *Morton*.
 The Loyalists, to prevent so considerable an
 reinforcement, send Sir *James Kirkaldie* and Cap
 tain *Cullayne* with a small Ship, four Boats,
 180 Soldiers, to intercept him as he crossed the
 River of *Forth*. These suddenly lighted upon
 the Captain, who had but three Boats, of which
 they took one, with about thirty Prisoners ; the
 other two got safe into *Leith*. In this
 Sea Engagement the Loyalists lost three Men
 and had seven wounded : But this was not
 for *Morton* being advertised (tho' not before
 they were gone off) of *Kirkaldie's* and *Cullayne's*

undertaking, lay in Ambush, in Hopes to surprise them when they landed ; but the Way not being covered by which he marched, the *Edinburghers* easily espied him, and sent out a few Horse, who coming upon him unawares, his lurking Hole, and with a great Noise, giving Kill, Kill, wounded many of his Men, and chased him back to *Leith*.

This Loss and Affront was not easily digested by *Morton* and *Wemys* : The first of these used his utmost Endeavours to increase the Numbers of his Men, and pressed above 50 of the neighbouring Farmers from their Plow ; the Lord of *Drumlanrig* came in to him with a strong Recruit, and the Regent sent him from *Perth* all the Horse he could spare ; so that in three or four Days he found himself in a Condition to abandon the Town, and dare the Royalists to meet him in the open Field. He marched out of *Leith* in the Morning, and drew his Army in Order of Battle at the *Hawkhill*, a Place near *Restalrig* Castle, and there stood in View of the City. The Loyalists, who knew themselves strong enough, were ashamed to be thus ferreted and provoked out of their Strength ; and having immediately arm-marched chearfully out at the Eastern Gate, which respected the Enemy, with all the Horse and Foot they could make, and with two Field-pieces. Upon their Head marched the Earl of *Montrose*, the Lord *Hume*, the Lord *Herries*, the Lord *Paisley*, the Lord *Kilwinning*, and the Lord *Livingston*. And in a good fighting Humour, they came to a Place called the *Quarry-holes*, in front of *Morton's* Army. Here Sir *William Drury*,

Drury, who had been all Night in *Leith* with the Associators, and came out with them the Morning, pretended to labour for a Peace, and came to the Loyalists with Proposals. Both Parties were satisfied to retire, or at least seemed to be so, but the Question was, which should march off first, and the Loyalists urged that *Morton* who came first to the Field, should first turn his Back. But to be brief, *Drury* so far prevailed with them, that they yielded to quit their Ground at the same Time with the Enemy, he standing in the middle Space betwixt both Armies, and giving the Signal by throwing up his Hat. Having returned to *Morton*, and acquainted him with what had passed betwixt him and the Loyalists, it was villainously resolved, it seems, by both to embrace this Opportunity of defeating them for as soon as *Drury* was retired, (and he was far from coming Half-way) and threw up his Hat, the Associators came down with the utmost Haste and Fury upon the Loyalists, who had already turned their Backs, and expected no such Treatment, and put them all to Flight. *Morton* pursued this Victory, so treacherously obtained as far as the East Port of the *Canongate*, called the *Water-Zeat*, where the Way being narrow many of the Loyalists were knocked down, and trode to Death, as well by their own Horses as by the Enemy. Here fell the Lord *Kilwinning*, a Man by all esteemed and lamented, and twenty-four common Soldiers. The Lord *Hum*, Captain *Cullayne*, *Alexander Bogg* Ensign, Captain *David Melvil's* Company, and 72 private Centinels were taken Prisoners, and with one Pair of Colours, some Horses, and the two

Field

Field-pieces, carried in great Triumph to *Leith* by the Associators, who had only one common Soldier killed, and their new Captain *Michael Kemys*. This Business fell out upon a *Saturday* the 16th of *June*, and amongst the Loyalists, especially those at *Edinburgh*, was ever distinguished by the Name of *Black Saturday*, or *Drury's Peace*.

The Lord *Hume* was sent to the Castle of *Antallon*, where he might have staid long enough, if Sir *David Spence* of *Wormeston* had not luckily lighted upon the Laird of *Drumlanrig* going Home from *Leith*, and brought him, with his Son, Prisoners to *Edinburgh*. The Laird of *Applegirth* was taken at the same Time in his Company, but Sir *David* having but very few Men with him, that Gentleman easily made his Escape. On the 25th of *July* these two (the Father and the Son) were exchanged for the Lord *Hume*, at the *Gallowlie* betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*; and on the 26th, Sir *William Drury* came again to the Loyalists to propose a Peace. He was not so welcome as formerly; for when they were all assembled in the Castle, *Grange* told him before the Company, "That he acted the Part of a very ill Man, and but for the respect which he and his Friends bore to the Queen of *England*, whose Servant he was, he should lay him fast by the Heels." So very blind are Men to their own Crimes, that he who had so often acted treacherously, to destroy his own Queen, could yet blame the Knavery of another to serve his. However, it is certain the Loyalists were very much exasperated against him; and tho' he laid all the Guilt upon *Morton's*

Shoulders, and excused himself with repeated Oaths and Protestations of fair dealing, yet they would hearken to no Proposals he could make them, but allowed him a Guard till he was out of the City, to save him from the Fury of the incensed Mob. The Regent, as soon as he was informed of the late Victory, came to Leith where it was resolved he should reside for some Time: The Country People acknowledging the King's Authority, were commanded by Proclamation to attend him quarterly by Turns: And having now finished the new Fortifications of that Town, the Numbers of his Men being considerably increased, he proceeded to repair the old ones, which Time, or the Injuries of War had well nigh demolished.

As *England* failed not at all Times to encourage the Rebels, so *France* would not wholly forget the Loyalists; neither of them did enough to finish the War, and both did too much to keep it on Foot: Each of these Nations were willing to play their own Game, and to advance their own Party, but both of them were afraid of putting their Hand in too far, lest it had engaged them against one another, and by small Supplies effectually wrought their Business which was to keep the *Scots* divided, that they might not be entirely in the Interests of either (I mean *France* or *England*.) It is true the *English* being at that Time the strongest, ventured farther than the other; but it is as true, that Queen *Elizabeth* was not fond of breaking altogether with *France*, nor would that King run the Hazard of falling out with her, lest the Loyalists in *Scotland* had not been able to cast the Balance

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ance between them, as they had done for some
hundreds of Years. In short, the *Scots* Queen
suffered equally from the Ill-nature of the *Eng-
lish* Queen, and from the Friendship of the King
of *France*, it being more than probable that a
Peace would have accomplished her Restoration
sooner than a dilatory War, since the *Scots*, na-
turally haughty enough, and impatient of Ser-
vitude, would rather have again willingly sub-
mitted to her Authority, than for so many Years
endured the troublesome Government of four
Noblemen, who were not born to Sovereignty,
and had hardly so much Interest in the Nation
as many of their Fellow Peers, who therefore
grumbled to obey : But to leave this Re-
flexion, and return to my Business, which
brought it in my Way,

Drury, on the 26th, as I have said, had been
with the Loyalists, the same Night the Regent
came to *Leith*, and on the 28th of that Month,
(July 1571) came Monsieur *Verac* back from
France, with Letters from his Master to most of
the Loyalists, and one to *Lenox*, desiring him
to restore some Things he had taken in the
Castle of *Dumbarton*. With *Verac* arrived
Chisholme, who went over as Agent for the
Loyalists at the *French* Court, and who had ob-
tained a considerable Supply from that Monarch.
The Regent, informed of their being in the Ri-
ver of *Forth*, sent Boats enough to man the
Ship, and bring the Cargo, Passengers and Crew
to *Leith*. *Chisholme* had before-hand landed ha-
stily with all the Money which he had on Board,
and secretly delivered it to the Abbot of *St.
Columbs-inch*. The Lord *Lindsay* was sent with

a Party by Land to apprehend him, and both he and the Ambassador were seized about the same Time. All *Verac's* Papers were taken from him, and amongst these was found a Minute or Account of the Money delivered to *Chisholme*. They were both strictly examined in Prison, and both denied the Matter. But *Chisholme* having felt the Boot, (a most painful Instrument of Torture) not only confessed what he had before so stoutly denied, but engaged in the Service of the Rebels, and the Money fell entire into the Regent's Hands. In the Ship besides other valuable Goods, was found 200 Musquets, as many Crosslets, and as many Murrions, 500 Cannon Bullets, and some Saltpeter. In a Day or two *Verac* was sent to *St Andrews*; and the Ship being unloaded, the Regent ordered the Arms, and the best Part of her Cargo, to be sent by Water to the Castle of *Stirling*. But by the Way, Sir *David Spence*, the same who had taken *Drumlanrig*, luckily intercepted them; and tho' the Vessel was stoutly manned, not only made them all Prisoners, but brought off the Arms and other Things of Value, having first sunk what he found not for his Use.

In the mean time, private Feuds, as well as publick Rebellion, had their Residence at *Leith Morton* who had ever ruled since the Queen's Banishment, and wanted nothing but the Name of King, or Regent, began to be very uneasy. He storned that *Lenox* should listen to any Advice but his own, and looked upon the Laird of *Drumquhaifel*, as a formidable Rival, and on that was likely enough to worm him out of Power.

your and Credit, especially in the Council, where he was esteemed an Oracle, both for his Judgment and Eloquence. They had been formerly great Cronies, and *Morton* knew his Parts too well not to be jealous of him; but because this Gentleman was *tam Marte quam Mercurio*, and it was by no Means safe to fight him, he therefore hired a Couple of his own Footmen to assassinate him, that being the speediest and safest Way to remove him from the Council Table. Tho' *Morton* was no Novice in the Trade, yet he had managed it with too much Heat, and the Regent (tho' never famed for Cunning) smelt out the Plot before it ripened into Action. Having a great Value for *Drumquhaifel* as his Countryman (for he was born in the Province of *Lenox*) and being equally afraid of *Morton's* great Interest, he seemed not to know any Thing of the intended Murder, and only confined the Gentleman in his own Lodgings, where he was safe enough from being attacked. *Morton* looked upon this Action as a terrible Affront, and a plain Indication of his Adversaries growing Interest; and now no longer endeavouring to dissemble his Resentment, ordered his Baggage to be pack'd up, and resolved to march Home to his own House. The Regent was speedily informed of what passed; and, still seeming to take no Notice of the Matter, sent a Servant to acquaint him, he should dine with him that Day. The Earl finding him so pliable, or rather indeed afraid of losing him, ordered the Messenger to tell him again; "That he was sorry he could not have the Honour of his Lordship's Company,"

“ and that his Business was so very pressing as
 “ to oblige him to go out of the Town with-
 “ out so much as taking his Leave of him.”
 The Regent seemed very much surprized with
 this Answer, which was no less than a flat Deni-
 al; and starting suddenly out of his Chair, said,
 with some Heat; “ But by God’s holy Name
 “ then he shall eat his Dinner with me.” And
 indeed he neglected not his Oath, for he went
 immediately and brought back the haughty
 Earl to his House; where he endeavoured all he
 could to reconcile him to *Drumquhaifel*: But
 the Earl had gone too far, ever to trust that
 Gentleman again, and was too much a States-
 man not to know the Danger of forgiving a
 cunning Enemy; so that he was for ever banish-
 ed the Court, and discharged to come within
 so much as ten Miles of the Regent’s Person
 under the Penalty of a swinging Fine. Nor was
 this Gentleman’s Banishment the only Sacrifi-
 ce made by the Regent to appease his discon-
 tented Friend; for at the same Time Captain *Cul-
 layne* who, (as I have said) was taken Prisoner
 on *Black Saturday*, was publickly hanged on a
 Gibbet, tho’ all the World knew he was only
 executed that *Morton* might with more Safety
 enjoy his Wife, who was a very handsome Wo-
 man, and with whom he had been some Months
 before too well acquainted. A strong Party
 too was sent at this Time under the Command
 of Captain *Andrew Mitchel* to take Possession of
 the Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, and to bar the
 Loyalists the Benefit of Provisions from that
 Quarter.

These Transactions were not the only ones

of this Month, for *Morton*, in Return for the
 mighty Favours of *Cullayne's* Death, and *Drum-*
baigell's Banishment, managed the Regent's
 Business so effectually, that at once he brought
 over no less than the Earl of *Argyle* and the
 Lord *Boyd* to his Party. Every Body was sur-
 prised to find the last of these tempted to revolt,
 who had been hitherto indefatigable in the Ser-
 vice of his Queen, and the first too much confirm-
 ed those Suspicions raised of his Honesty from his
 Conduct at *Langside*, and his kind Treatment
 from *Murray*, when he first submitted to the
 young King's Authority. But this Treachery to the
 Royalists was not to be performed for nothing,
 each of these Noblemen had a notable Allowance
 out of the Church Revenues; and by the Regent's
 and *Morton's* Authority, *Argyle* was without a
 just Cause suddenly divorced from his Wife,
 and married to *Boyd's* eldest Daughter, who
 was indeed the most beautiful young Lady in
 her Time. It would appear from this, that
Boyd was drawn in to have his Daughter prefer-
 red to the Earl's Bed, because the infected Cler-
 gy being entirely in the Interest of the Associa-
 tors, it was impossible otherwise to obtain the
 Divorce without being terribly cried out upon,
 and these zealous good Men, to the Scandal of
 their Profession, could shut their Eyes, and
 wink at Adultery for a Friend. But however it
 was, this was Matter of Fact, the two Peers
 were well bribed, and the Marriage actually fol-
 lowed upon an unjust Divorce. But to return to
 the Business of *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, I mean to
 the two Armies.

The Forces in *Edinburgh* belonging to the
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Loyalists, and in constant Pay, were in all 100 Horse and 500 Foot. These were commanded by the Captains, *Arthur Hamilton*, *James Bruce*, *David Melvil*, and *Gilbert Montgomery*. Captain *Hugh Lauder* was made Serjeant Major of the City Train-bands. The regular Forces in *Leith*, under the Pay of the Associators, were 100 Horse, and 700 Foot. But the Garrison in the Castle, under *Grange*, balanced the Account. The Captains were, *Thomas Crawford*, *Davia Hume*, *Andrew Lambie*, *Andrew Mitchel*, *John Chisholm*, preferred for his Desertion, *Walter Aitkenman*, and *Adam Fullarton*. Three of the ablest of these Officers, to wit, *Crawfurd*, *Hume*, and *Lambie*, with their respective Companies, were sent secretly to the *Canongate*, in Hopes to surprise the City. The Contrivance was good enough, and had almost succeeded; for *Crawfurd*, who commanded the other two, and was always called the Regent's Captain, had a notable Hand at Performances of this Kind. He had, undiscovered in the Night-time, posted all his Soldiers on both Sides of the Street, near the Eastern Gate of the City called the *Netherbow*. These stood out of Sight, within the Closets or blind Alleys. As soon as the Sun rose and it was broad Day, twenty or thirty Horse were to appear loaded with Sacks of Meal, and led by Soldiers privately armed, and dressed like common Farmers, and such as frequented the Market. As soon as they entered the Gate they were to throw off their Sacks, to keep from being suddenly shut again; and the three Companies were ordered to rush in, upon the firing of a Pistol by one of those who led the

Horses

Horses. All Things thus concerted and prepared, as they were impatiently expecting the counterfeit Farmers, one *Thomas Barrie*, a Messenger, (or Bailiff) who lived at the Foot of the *Canongate*, near the Palace, as he was coming up to the City early in the Morning about his common Business, observed all the Closets lined with Soldiers, and readily suspected the Design. He seemed not however to carry his Eyes about him, and walked so as not in the least to betray his Fear or Jealousy. As soon as he had entered the City, and informed the Loyalists of the lucky Discovery, the Guards were immediately doubled; every Man ran to his Arms; and *Crawfurd* being too well informed by the Noise, what he was to expect, marched off to *Leith*, ashamed that he was so curvily baulked after a whole Night's Watching. The Loyalists however, to obviate any such Mischance for the future, fortified all the City Gates, especially towards the East, where they built a new one, that could only be entered by a narrow Circuit or Compass, and making two Gun-holes exactly opposite to the old Gate, they mounted two small Pieces which they brought down from the Castle, and scoured the *Canongate*. About this Time Sir *David Spence*, who was of later called *Spence the lucky*, was sent privately to St. *Andrews*, to concert some Measures there with *Verac* the French Ambassador; and indeed he was so very fortunate, as not only to see that Gentleman without being discovered, but to set him at Liberty too, and brought him back with him to *Edinburgh*.

Whilst these Things were acting, the Time
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appointed for the Meeting of both Parliaments came on. The rebellious Parliament met at *Stirling*, where the Duke of *Chastelherault*, his two Sons, the Abbot and Lord *Claud*, most of the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*, Huntly with most of the *Gordons*, and the Laird of *Grange* were all forfeited for their Rebellion against the King. The loyal Parliament met at *Edinburgh* where the Regent, *Morton*, *Argyle*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltree*, *Cathcart*, *Methven*, and many others, were all forfeited for their Rebellion against the Queen. It was observed, not so much for the Thing itself, as for what followed it, that the young King being carried into the Parliament-house at *Stirling*, upon the 30th of *August*, by his Governor the Earl of *Mar*, and espying a small Hole or Chink in the Roof or Ceiling, asked what was the Name of the House, the Earl answered, it was called the *Parliament-house*. "Then (replied the Prince) My Lord, this Parliament has a Hole into it." By the superstitious this was reputed no less than Prophecy, because *Lenox* died in five Days after, tho' the Words were not so much as pronounced in the future Tense. But to proceed: Mutual Forfeitures were not only the Business of the two Parties, and they soon found a closer Way of engaging. The Loyalists were in one entire Body at *Edinburgh*, and the Associators were divided, some of them at *Stirling*, and some at *Leith*: The first therefore send most of their Forces down from the City, to provoke those of *Leith* to the Combat, who were so far from being hardy as to abandon that Town, and meet them in the open Field. The whole Day was spent

in pickeering, neither Party being forward to fall on. These little Skirmishings however, at last, brought them to a close Engagement, and the Garrison coming hastily down to the Assistance of the Loyalists, the Rebels were obliged to betake themselves to their Heels. Those who were in the Town verily believed the Loyalists would enter at the Back of their flying Enemy, and every Man hastened to the Shore to find a Boat, some offering no less than 100 l. to be carried out of Danger ; but the growing Night stopt the Loyalists from prosecuting their Victory, who lost in this Action no more than two private Soldiers, and had *Francis Tenant*, sometime Mayor or Provost of the City, taken Prisoner, by pursuing the Enemy too far in the dark. Of the Rebels were killed 25 ; their chief Leader, *James Halyburton*, was taken Prisoner, and 51 common Soldiers. That very Evening, Provisions being scarce in the City, the Laird of *Howmains*, whom they had sent out with a small Party, returned with threescore of black Cattle, which he had drove off the Lands of *Byres*, belonging to the Lord *Lindsay*. The next Morning Gibbets were set up upon the *Castle-hill*, it being resolved by *Grange* and others, to hang *Halyburton* and all the Prisoners, to revenge *Gullayne's* Death ; but the Captains who took them having petitioned for their Lives, the Gibbets were ordered to be taken down again. This Battle was commonly remembered afterwards by the Name of *Lang Fight*, or the *Battle of Gallowlee*, tho' it was fought at the Gates of *Leith*.

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The Loyalists, very much animated and heartened with their Success, resolved now put an End to the War by one bold Stroke, and perish in the Attempt. The rebellious Parliament was still sitting at *Stirling*, secure from Attacks, their Enemies (as they thought) being constantly kept in Play by their Army at *Leith*; their Strength and Numbers made them too careless; and it appeared not impossible to the Loyalists to surprise them in this negligent Posture. Upon the third Day of *September* therefore, about six o'Clock at Night, *George Earl of Huntly*, the Lord *Claud Hamilton*, the Laird of *Balcleugh*, Sir *David Spence* of *Wormeston*, with 300 Horse, most of which were bought and taken the Day before, *George Bell* and *George Calder*, with 80 Foot, marched out of *Edinburgh*. *Bell* being born in *Stirling*, and well acquainted with every Street and Lane of the Town, performed the Office of a faithful Guide to the rest. To blind the Citizens and the Enemy at *Leith*, they gave out that they were going to *Jedburgh*, to adjust a little Quarrel that had then happened betwixt the Inhabitants of that Town and the Laird of *Ferniehurst*, and as long as they were within the View of the City, marched to the Southward, then fetching a Compass about a little Hill that covered them, and turning to the West, they came to *Stirling*, where not so much as a Dog seemed awake. About Four o'Clock in the Morning being the 4th of *September*, *Bell*, who led the Way, and had the chief Command of the Foot assigned to every Man his proper Post and Task. The Regent, *Morton*, *Glencairn*, &c. had their

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lodgings in a Minute surrounded; all the Stable
 doors were in as short a Time forced open; and,
 to keep all Things as quiet as they found them,
 some of the Foot were posted in the Market-
 place, who incessantly fired upon those who
 were so hardy as to open their Windows, or
 offered to look out. To be short, in less than
 Half an Hour's Time, the Loyalists got into
 their Hands, as Prisoners, no less than eleven
 Noblemen, viz. the Earls of *Lenox*, *Morton*,
Glencairn, *Argyle*, *Cassilis*, *Eglinton*, *Montrose*
 and *Buchan*, with the Lords *Sempill*, *Cathcart*,
 and *Ochiltree*, (*Glanmis*, *Ruthven*, *Methven*,
 and others, escaped) whom they had all already
 mounted behind their Horsemen. Thus far
 the Loyalists were successful, and thought of no-
 thing but returning Conquerors to their Friends
 at *Edinburgh*: But this was reckoning without
 their Host; for when they founded a Retreat,
 they found that they had hardly one Half of
 their Men; the Borderers who accompanied
Balcleugh, were all scattered up and down the
 Town, and according to their constant Practice
 in such Cases, were upon the Hunt for Booty,
 and rifling the Houses and Shops, without re-
 gard to Danger, or the Honour of taking Pri-
 soners. They had been at first active enough;
 but now believing the Business done, at least
 the fighting Part of, it at an End, it was impos-
 sible to bring them out to the Streets; and the
 only Thing that detained the Loyalists so long,
 till these Borderers begun to plunder, was the
 Earl of *Morton's* Obstinacy, who had not yield-
 ed himself a Prisoner till all the rest were taken,
 and the House fired about his Ears. This only

Obstacle, and short Delay, marred the Success of this great Enterprize ; for the Earl of Mar coming from the Castle with 20 or 30 Musqueteers, and entering the back Way to his new Lodgings, which because they were not then finished, the Loyalists had neglected, fired smartly upon them, that he drove them, with some Loss, from the Market-place to the East end of the Town. The Inhabitants and others now free, made to their Arms as fast as they could, took many of their straggling Plunderers, and pursued the main Body of the Loyalists so warmly, that they were forced to drop all their Prisoners. Captain *Calder* seeing the Day thus lost, resolved to make sure of one, and barbarously run the Regent into the Belly with a broad Sword *. Sir *David Spence*, to whom he had surrendered himself, had used his utmost Endeavours to preserve him ; but the Rebels coming hastily up, and hearing the Regent still crying, *I'm kill'd, I'm kill'd*, hack'd the unfortunate Gentleman to Pieces, his wounded Prisoner all the while begging in vain to have him saved, as a Man that had only fallen into their Hands by endeavouring too long to protect him from the Fury of his Companions. In short, the Loyalists were forced to owe their Safety entirely to their Horses Heels ; six of their Number, including *Spence*, were killed, and 26 made Prisoners, of which *Balcleugh Bell*, and *Calder*, were the most considerable. The Rebels lost 38 : Amongst these, the Regent who died of his Wound that Evening, *Alexander*

* Others say he shot him.

er Stuart younger of Garlies, and George Ruthven, a Brother of the Laird of Ruthven's, were the only Persons of Note. That the Loyalists escaped with so small a Loss, was owing to the Enemies Want of Horses; for the Borderers had pretty well emptied the Stables. Thus ended this bold Enterprize, hardly to be matched in any *European* History, if we consider the Undertakers, who were but an Handful of Men, daily harassed, injured in their Goods and Fame by the Malice of their Enemies, and not only assaulted by powerful Foes at Home, but by Foreigners from Abroad. That Men, who had but one Place of Refuge and Shelter in their native Country, should abandon that, and march so far without a Halt, enter a Town full of People, where they were to encounter at least seven to one, take all their Enemies of the first Rank in one Net, and have it in their Power to put an End to the Civil War, and the Banishment of their Queen, by dispatching them when taken, is perfectly astonishing! Nor does it less deserve our Wonder, that even when the Attempt miscarried, and they were put to their last Shift, that their Loss should be so very inconsiderable: However it was, they thought the Archbishop's Death now sufficiently revenged upon the Author *, and returned that Night to *Edinburgh*, not so much grieved for the Loss of their Prisoners, as for *Bell* and *Calder*, who they knew would pay dearly for the Borderers Booty. As for the Regent, he alighted

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* Their Word was, *God and the Queen. Think on the Archbishop of St. Andrews.*

ed not from his Horse till he came to the Castle, where his Pain increasing, and his Wound being declared mortal by his Surgeons, the Nobility were all ordered to attend him in his Chamber, to whom he made the following Speech :

“ It is not unknown to your Honours, that
 “ my Arrival in *Scotland* was not of my Accord
 “ or Wishing, but rather of yours, whom I
 “ supposed to favour the Revenge of my Son,
 “ the late King’s Death and Murder, the Welfare
 “ of your natural Prince my Nevy, and
 “ the Tranquility of the State of this Commonwealth;
 “ to be purged from wicked Malignations,
 “ factions, and Perturbers of the Quietness
 “ thereof. Ye know, that for the Maintenance
 “ of this honest Cause of the King’s I have
 “ this Day spent my Blood, and now am at
 “ the Point to finish my last Hour in this World.
 “ Wherefore I desire you all heartily to pray
 “ for me, and that ye will continue in your
 “ wonted Benevolence to his Majesty, and in
 “ my Place to choose a Man fearing God, wise
 “ and circumspect, both for the Welfare of the
 “ King, and your own Standing ; and that ye
 “ will be mindful to recompense my trusty Servants,
 “ who as yet have received no Benefit at my Hand. Further I have nothing to say,
 “ but prays the Lord to be merciful to my
 “ Soul, that I may receive Pardon for all my
 “ Sins ; and so I commit you all in his eternal
 “ Protection. *Amen.* To the Earl of *Mar*,
 “ whom he held by the Hand, he added, “ My
 “ Lord, I desire you to remember my Love to
 “ my Wife *Meg*, (for so he used to call his Lady)
 “ whom I beseech God to comfort.” This
 “ Speech

Speech was much esteemed, and held a long Time in Vogue ; every Body that could purchase it had a Copy of it : Some gave it the Misnomer of *Lenox's Narration*, tho' it went most commonly (and not very properly neither) by the Name of *Lenox's Testament* : But in short, twenty Things were foisted into it after his Death, and the Bigotted and Zealous of his Party made him speak with the same Heat and Passion they would have done themselves. It is certain he died very devoutly, and was naturally a good Man *, but not a great Man, for, excepting the Business of the Archbishop, his very Enemies could lay nothing to his Charge ; *Lullayne's Death*, the Affair of *Brechin*, and other irregular Acts of his Life, being entirely imputed to *Morton*, who had such an Ascendant over him, that he could make him forfeit his Word of Honour ten Times in one Day. People commonly said of him, that his Predecessor, *Murray*, borrowed nothing but *Morton's Head*, and had good Hands and Feet of his own ; whereas *Lenox* not only borrowed the same Head, but used *Drumquhaisel* for his Right-hand, and *Capt. Crawford* for his Left. Hence it was, that a little before his Death, alluding to *Drumquhaisel's* Banishment, it became common in every Body's Mouth, *The Regent's Head has cut off his Right-hand*. He was interred with very little Solemnity in the Chapel of the Castle of *Stirling* ; and this Meeting or Convention of the Associates was ever distinguished from the rest by the Name of the *Black Parliament*.

* An Instance of his Goodness is not easily to be found.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

AFFAIRS of SCOTLAND,

From the Death of the Earl of
LENOX, to the Death of the Earl
of MAR.

LENOX died the 4th of *September*, and on the 5th the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton* and *Mar*, stood Candidates for his Post. The last of these was preferred, and on the 7th, *Calder* and *Bell* were, after having suffered exquisite Torments, by his Order, publicly executed in the Market-place at *Stirling*. This Sacrifice to the Ghost of his departed Predecessor being over, and which could not be avoided, he came with the rest of his Party to *Leith*, in order to besiege *Edinburgh* with the utmost Vigour and Expedition. Nine Pieces of Ordnance were for that End brought from the Castle of *Stirling* to the *Canongate*; but finding that nothing was to be done at the East-end of the City, they raised a Battery on the South-side, at a Place of the Suburbs called the *Pleasance*. On the 10th the

Guns

Guns began to play against a Platform, upon the Top of *Adam Fullarton's* House ; but that doing very little Hurt to the Besieged, they were on the 17th levelled against the City Walls, which, in two Places were fairly beaten to the Ground, with the small Expence of 180 Bullets. The Rampires and Ditches within deterred them nevertheless from attempting to enter the Breach ; so that on the 20th the Regent retired, *re infecta*, with his Army to *Leith*. The Noise of his Cannon failed not to frighten many of the Citizens, who to avoid such another Disturbance, abandoned their Houses, and followed him. This proved however but a small Encouragement to the Associators, since they left the Keys of the City Gates behind them ; and having called a general Council by *Morton's* Advice, who yet ruled the Board, and had still the strongest Party, Letters were forthwith dispatched to the Queen of *England*, to crave her speedy Assistance, and inform her of the dangerous Condition of her Cousin the young King's Affairs. The *Edinburghers* in the mean Time were only employed in repairing their Walls. And thus stood Matters in the South.

In the North Sir *Adam Gordon* of *Auchindown*, made Deputy Lieutenant for the Queen by his Brother the Earl of *Huntly*, was equally diligent and successful in advancing her Interest. To oppose and humble the growing Power of this Gentleman, the Regent sent the Master of *Ferries* with a very considerable Strength, who at the first Encounter was fairly routed, and lost about One hundred and twenty of his Men. The Action happened upon the 9th of *October* ; and on

Cor-

Gordon's Side there fell but seven, all of them common Soldiers. The Loyalists knew this Victory would be highly resented by the Associates, and sent him a Reinforcement from *Edinburgh*, under the Command of Sir *James Kirkaldie*: *Gordon* was then lying in *Aberdeen*, but having no Need of Officers, he freely allowed Sir *James* to sail from thence to *France*, to inform that King of the Condition of the Queen's Affairs, and to crave his Assistance. *Forbes's* beaten Army was in the mean Time strongly recruited. The Captains *Chisholme* and *Wedderburn* brought him 200 Foot from *Leith*, with Letters to most of the Gentlemen of the North, in the King's Name, to assist him. All the Name of *Forbes* too took up Arms; so that besides his Foot, he had now no less than 300 Horse. *Gordon* all this while lay idling at *Aberdeen*, and suffered them to gather their Troops at Ease, till he was suddenly roused with the Noise of their March, and their Design to attack him. It is certain he had almost been surpris'd in this careless Humour; for *Forbes* was so far advanced, that he had much ado to march out of the Town and meet him. Both Armies engaged with equal Ardor, and *Gordon* to make Amends for his late Omission of suffering his Enemy to grow so strong upon his Hands, fought with inexpressible Bravery and Conduct, till Victory a second Time declared herself in his Favours. In the Chase, which lasted four Miles, 200 of the Rebels were taken Prisoners, and amongst these their Leader, the Master of *Forbes*; 300 of them were killed upon the Spot, of whom Captain *Chisholme*, and 15 Gentlemen of

the Clan or Sirname of *Forbes*, were the most considerable. This remarkable Action was call'd the *Battle of Crabstane*, a Place near *Aberdeen*. And by the bye, the Reader may observe how far the Northern People in Arms differ from those of the East and South, since in all the little frequent Battles at *Edinburgh* and *Leith* there was not so much Blood spilt, and the Number of the kill'd and taken, when put together, amount-
ed not to 500. But to return to *Gordon*,
As these two Actions against *Forbes*, or, to speak more properly, against the Rebels, gained him a vast Reputation; and indeed every Man owned him a brave Soldier, and fortunate; his next Exploit was attended with an equal Portion of Infamy; and he was as much decried for his unlucky Action, (tho' at the same Time he had no immediate Hand in the Matter) as for his former ones he had been applauded. He had sent one Captain *Ker*, with a Party of Foot, to besiege the Castle of *Towie* in the Queen's name. The Owner, *Alexander Forbes*, was not then at Home, and his Lady confiding too much in her Sex, not only refused to surrender, but gave *Ker* very injurious Language; upon which, unreasonably transported with Fury*, he ordered his Men to fire the Castle, and barbarously burnt the unfortunate Gentlewoman, with her whole Family, amounting to 37 Persons. Nor was he ever so much as cashiered for

* It should have been told, that they had some Time allowed them to deliberate on a Surrender; that so the Reader might have judged for himself, whether, in such Cases, the Obstinacy could intitle either Man or Woman to Safety and Protection.

for this inhuman Action ; which made *Gordon* share both in the Scandal and the Guilt. At the same Time ——— *Seaton of Parbroath* recovered from the Rebels the Castle of *Broughtie*, situated on the River of *Tay*.

Whilst the Loyalists thus triumphed in the North, it fared not so very well with their Brethren at *Edinburgh* ; for Winter now approaching, and being equally scarce of Firing and Provisions, they had sent out Captain *Halyburton* with his Company, to bring them in a Share of both. But a Party of the Rebels, who had lurked in the Park near the Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, under the Command of Captain *Mitchel*, and who had been advertised of his March, came suddenly upon him in the *Burrowmuir*, and took him, with 60 of his Men Prisoners : The rest fled back to the City ; and *Mitchel* himself being too forward and hot in the Pursuit was alone taken and wounded at the *Kirk-of-field* Port. This Captain was not enough to ransom *Halyburton* and his 60 Soldiers ; but to make up the Want, a Party of Horse was sent down to *Leith* the next Day, to skirmish and pickeer after the usual Manner, where they killed five of the Rebels, and brought Home 2 Prisoners. The Day following, the Captain and private Centinels were exchanged at the *Gallowlie*. *Ferniehurst* about the same Time besieged *Jedburgh*. And thus ended the Year 1571.

In *January* 1572, for in that Month I always begin the Year, *John Lord Maxwell* married the youngest Sister of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*. The Nuptials were solemnized at *Dalkeith*, and

The Earl of *Morton* resolved to give a splendid Entertainment to all the Nobility who had been present at the Marriage. But having ordered only his own Servants to *Leith*, to fetch Wine and other Necessaries, *Grange* sent out a Party of Horse, and surpris'd them in their Return to *Dalkeith*. *Morton's* Plate, and some Venison, lay upon one of the Carts; and two of his Servants, who were so mad as to endeavour to defend that against so many armed Men, were knocked on the Head. The Earl, who could not so easily forgive the Loss of his Plate as of his Men, to repay *Grange* in his own Coin, sent a strong Party of Foot into *Fife*, where that Gentleman had most of his Estate; these burnt down all his Tenants Houses, killed three of them who made some Resistance, wasted the Corn-fields, and returned loaded with Booty to *Dalkeith*. *Grange* sat still a few Days with the Loss, but on the 8th of *February*, about Four o'Clock in the Morning, he sent out a few light Horse, who before Day fired the Town of *Dalkeith*, killed ten of *Morton's* Soldiers, brought off nine Prisoners, and returned to *Edinburgh* with the Loss of one Man only, and two wounded. These three Scuffles went all under one Name, and were ever called *Lord Maxwell's hand-fasting*.

In the same Month the Associators sent the Lord *Ruthven* to waste the Lands of *Ferniehurst*, by that Means to relieve the Town of *Jedburgh*, which he still besieged. The Loyalists at the same Time sent *Ferniehurst* a Company of Foot, under the Command of Captain *Oliphant*, but these by the Way fell all into *Ruthven's* Hands, who

who was much superior in Number. *Sergeant Smith* only, who refused to yield without fighting, received a slight Wound on the Head, and made his Escape. The rest were obliged to march with his Lordship, and see all the Houses belonging to *Ferniehurst* plundered and burnt. In Return, the Loyalists wasted the Lordship of *Dalkeith*, carried off vast Numbers of black Cattle, and took fifty-six Horses going with *Archie* from *Dalkeith* to the Army at *Leith*.

About this Time the Lord *Seaton* came Home from *Flanders*. *Morton* believing he had brought some Money from *Alva*, or that at least he had gotten a Promise of some Men from that Duke, used his utmost Endeavours to catch him, but he got safe to *Edinburgh*. *Lindsay* and *Seaton* had been intimate Friends before the Civil War began; and the Earl resolved by this Means to decoy him out of the City: A Correspondence by Letters was immediately set on Foot between them, and at last a Time and Place of Meeting agreed to; but just as *Seaton* was going out of the City, he received certain Intelligence, "That *Lindsay* was *Morton's* Tool, who designed to put a Trick upon him, and that if he were taken, he would infallibly be taken."

In the Beginning of *March*, at the Desire of the French * King, Queen *Elizabeth* sent down Mr. *Randolph* to endeavour a Peace betwixt the two Parties; but at the same Time, because *Drury's* Honesty was suspected by the Loyalists, arrived Mr. *Carie*, joined with *Randolph* in the same

* This is the Language of some Man who has been in England; for surely no Scotsman can say French King, meaning thereby the King of France.

Commission, to counter-act him, and un-
derhand to foster the War, by pretending a se-
cret Esteem and Friendship for Queen *Mary*:
The Business answered her Wishes, and the Plot
succeeded, for both Parties went now more furi-
ously to Work than ever.

The Loyalists to begin, or rather continue,
the Fray, took the Laird of *Coventon* Prisoner, as
he was going to *Leith*, with a round Sum of
Money which belonged to the Earl of *Morton*,
and who had called it in to pay the Army. To re-
pent (for they could hardly expect to regain) this,
all the Horse and Foot were drawn out of *Leith*,
and brought up in Order of Battle, within View
of the City, in Hopes the Loyalists would do the
same: These, on the other Hand, were not o-
ffer forward to engage; tho' they came out to
the Field, yet they would not venture without
the Reach of the Castle, and kept on the South-
side, almost within the Privileges or Liberties.
This cautious Proceeding added to the Courage
and Heat of the Associators, who scampered about
in little Parties, especially the Horse, and wa-
ved their Handkerchiefs upon the Points of their
Swords in Defiance of the Castle. Some of these
Parties, commanded by the Lord *Methven*, be-
ing a little too forward, were severely reprimanded
for their unseasonable Bravery; for as they stood
at a Place called *Broughton*, a Cannon Bullet
knocked his Lordship and seven more on the
Head; he was reputed a good Soldier, and had
been more lamented, had he behaved himself
more warily. With this Loss the whole Army
was pleased to march off, but that they might
not go Home without doing something, they first
T destroy.

destroyed all the Water Mills near the City, garrisoned the collegiate Church of *Corstorphine*, the Houses of *Redhall*, *Merchistone*, and *Craigmillar*, and several other Places, to hinder Provisions from being carried into the City, and having apprehended some Carriers and Farmers who were bringing in Corn and some Sheep to the Market, to deter others for the future, they hanged two of them at *Leith*, and burnt the rest of them upon the Cheek. Next Day they took five Women driving Carts to the City, (for the Men were grown shy of coming abroad after the last Day's Adventure) but their Sex only altered the Form and not the Punishment, for one of them was drowned, and the other four were whipp'd, and marked with an hot Iron. The Loyalists on the other Hand garrisoned the Castle of *Niddrie-Seaton*, *Blackness*, and the Tower of *Levingston*; these Garrisons made frequent Sallies, and furnished the City with all Necessaries. At the same Time, if any Man was taken going with Provisions to *Leith*, he was rewarded with an Halter, in Return for those who were hanged by the Associators. This Cruelty increased to a strange Degree; for hanging continued in Use on both Sides from the 16th Day of *April*, to the 8th of *June*, no Man being spared, of whatsoever Quality, or howsoever taken. *Morton* first began the Trade, and the Loyalists kept it up, by way of Repri-
sal.

About this Time a *Frenchman* called *Sorbie* arrived with some Money from the Duke of *Alva*, which Mr. *Andrew Douglas*, Parson of *Dunglas*, conveyed safely in a Freare of Figs to the

the Castle of *Edinburgh*. This Priest, for meddling in State Affairs, and dipping his Fingers in the Civil Dish, came but very foul off ; for being taken by the Associators, his Namesake *Morton* handled him pretty roughly ; his Friends saved him from the Boot ; and having managed his Business so closely, that nothing could be proved against him, for a bare Correspondence with the Loyalists would have hanged him, the Earl was forced to trump up a new Plot, and having alledged that the Parson had hired his own Servant *Thomas Binning* to pistol him, he was indicted and tried a second Time : Here too the Proof was found too scanty ; but the Parson and his Man were both sent close Prisoners to the Castle of *Lochlevin*, losing at once his Liberty and Reputation, by being branded with the detested Name of Assassin.

This Action of *Morton's*, his living publicly with Captain *Cullayne's* Widow, and his frequent Adulteries, disgusted many of the Clergy who were before his Friends. It is probable indeed that his Lewdness weighed not too much, tho' there was a great Stress laid upon it, and he might have continued their Favourite, had he not meddled with one of their Number : But that having sensibly alarmed them all, his Faults were daily thundered from the Pulpit, and he was painted in so lively Colours, that the Audience could hardly mistake the Man. One of them, however, a little too warm and zealous, forgot himself, and unawares stumbled upon Treason ; for speaking of *Morton*, he said, " That Earl defends an unjust Cause, and " may come to repent when Time will not

"permit." For this he was taken up next Morning; and being strictly examined by whose Advice he had thus expressed himself, he answered with the same blunt Zeal he had used before, "That he spoke by Persuasion of no mortal Creature, but by Instigation of the Holy Spirit." This Obstinacy, as it was termed, must be vanquished by the Boot; and when he was indeed so weakened with Torture that he could not move from his Bed, he was on the 19th of *April*, without regard to his Condition or Office, carried in a Chair to the Gallows, and publicly executed at the Market-cross of *Edinburgh*.

The Loyalists in the mean time lend a new Reinforcement of Foot to *Gordon*, and order them to be shipped at *Blackness*: But the Associates, informed of the Design, came suddenly upon them, and without one Stroke made them all Prisoners. It was very observable, that Serjeant *Smith* a second Time made his Escape, and received only a slight Wound as before. As for the rest, fifteen of them were barbarously killed upon the Spot, after they had yielded upon Promise of fair Quarter; and the Remainder being brought to *Leith*, were all hanged within the View of the Castle. At *Edinburgh* were trussed up at the same Time no less than fifty-six of the Rebels, most of which they had taken the Day before, in a Skirmish at the new Bridge near the West-end of the City. All these Scuffles, which were attended with so many Executions, took their Name from the Author the Earl of *Morton*, and were called by both Parties the *Douglas Wars*.

In the mean time the Loyalists suffered very much for Want of Firing, and were obliged to pull down such Houses in the City as the Associates had deserted, only for the Sake of the Timber, which was sold at great Rates to those who were able to offer most. But this not being enough to supply their Necessities, many suspected Persons were called to an Account, who lurked amongst them as private Enemies. These, when found guilty, had their Houses demolished, or were obliged to compound with the Officer who was constituted Overseer of the Fuel, and who put what Value he pleased upon such Goods as were fit for the Fire. This Officer was commonly called, *The Captain of the Chimneys*, and was a very terrible Man to the Citizens. But as it happens in all general Calamities, the innocent suffered with the guilty, and many People apprehending the same Treatment if Famine ensued, willingly abandoned the City, and went over to the Rebels. They were not however so kindly received as they expected; for when they came to *Leith*, they were by *Morton's* Order, who managed all Things, whipped back almost to the City Gates, and discharged to return under the Pains of Death. The Loyalists thus straitened and hemm'd in, sally out and attack *Merchiston*. The Associates hasten to the Relief of the Garrison, and the Besiegers retire back to the City, after having fired all the Houses near the great Tower, and kindled another Flame at the *Sheens* in the *Burrows-muir*. And thus ended the Month of April.

In the Beginning of *May*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been all this while a Prisoner in the Castle of *Lochlevin*, was sold by *Morton* * to the *English* Queen, and the Money paid down before he was delivered. Every Man condemned this base Action, as the worst that he had yet committed, because that unfortunate Earl, who now lost his Head at *York*, had been his best Friend in *England*, when he was there under Banishment. But, as I have somewhere said, to the rebellious nothing seems unjust.

Some Time before this the King of *France* had sent Monsieur *Le Croc*, a Man of great Integrity and Parts, to the Queen of *England*, in Hopes to bring her at last to do Justice to the Queen of *Scots*. After many Delays she yielded to send an Ambassador along with his Most Christian Majesty's to *Scotland*, to endeavour a Peace betwixt the two Parties there, without which she pretended it was impossible for Queen *Mary* to expect a Re-establishment. Yet for this Embassy she pitched upon no greater Man than Sir *William Drury*, one who was hated, and justly too, by the Loyalists, and whom no Birth nor Merit recommended to so considerable a Preferment. But to make Amends for his Wants that Way, he was one that at Home, as well as in *Scotland*, expressed a sufficient Stock of Malice against the *Scots* Queen, and opposed openly not only her's, but her Son's Succession to the Crown of *England*. *Le Croc* however dissembled his Resentment, tho' he look'd upon this as no small Affront both to his Master and

* See the Note on Page 55.

to himself; and being willing to do all the Good he could, came down with him about the 14th or 15th Day of *May*. As soon as he arrived, he sent a Trumpet to the City for his Brother Ambassador *Verac*, whom I ought rather to call Envoy, which brought him to *Restalrig*, where they lodged all Night with *Drury*. On the twenty-first these three foreign Ministers waited upon the Loyalists, and spent the whole Day in the Castle, whither *Chastelherault* and *Huntly* had summoned a grand Council; but at Night they retired to the Associators at *Leith*, without having effected any Thing, *Drury* all the while endeavouring to blow the Coals, instead of quenching the Fire.

During this Treaty, or rather Negotiation for one, some of the Officers at *Leith* had, by Proxy, endeavoured to debauch the Garrison of *Niddrie-Seaton*, and had so far prevailed with one of the Soldiers, that he promised, when it came to his Turn to watch, to acquaint them with it, and ordered them to come in the Night-time, provided with Ladders to scale the Walls, because the Governor trusted no Man with the Keys of the Gate: The Fellow however, or seized with Remorse for his Treachery, or never having intended to betray the Castle, informed his Captain of what had past, who failed not to improve the Plot to his own Advantage. The Soldier's Turn soon came, and the Associators being, according to Promise, advertised of the Opportunity, made what Haste they could to take Possession of the Place: The Governor in the mean Time had provided a large heavy Oak Joist, and hung it over the Wall

Wall of the Tower by both Ends, on that Side where the Enemy were to fix their Ladders. The whole Garrison stood ready armed with Fire Arms, and as soon as the Associators had got upon their Ladders, the Ropes were cut, and down they fell the great Joist. Seventeen of the most forward were crushed to Death, and about fifteen more were dangerously wounded. The Garrison at the same Instant sallied out upon the rebels, but the Night being darker than usual at such a Time of the Year, they escaped to *Corstorphine* where they were out of Danger. In this Month *Morton* ordered a new Piece of mixed Money to be coined in his Castle of *Dalkeith*, amounting to three Fourths of a Mark Scots, which, by a Proclamation in the King's Name, was to be current amongst all his good Subjects. At the same Time were coined in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, Pieces of ten, twenty, and thirty pence *English*; but these being of fine Silver, were all melted down by *Morton*, and turned into his mixed Money, which, tho' almost the whole Value was lost, was received in all Payments for many Years after, at least during *Mar's* Life, and Part of his own. In this Month too, *John Lord Fleming*, who had been Governor of *Dumbarton*, arrived from *France* with a round Sum to maintain Queen *Mary's* Interest. On the 26th of *June* he came to *Edinburgh*; the 5th of *July* he was accidentally hurt on the Knee by a Musquet Bullet that rebounded from the Street, and died of the Wound the 6th of *September* following.

In the Beginning of the next Month (*June*) the Associators, to repay the Governor of *Westminster*

Niddrie, or *Niddrie-Seaton*, (for I find both these names indifferently used for the same Place) that curvy Trick he had so lately served them, besiege the Castle with all the Vigour imaginable. The Loyalists, to make a Diversion, at the same time march out with the best Part of their strength, and two Pieces of Ordnance, to batter the Castle of *Merchiston*. Some of the Horse poured the Fields towards the South-side, and brought off 14 Oxen; and the Foot in the *In-prim* had plied their Business so warmly, and made so good Use of their great Guns, that the Garrison was glad to parley. But just as they were about to surrender, in the very Nick of time, appeared a distant Rabble of the Country people, who flocked only to see the Sport, and were drawn thither by the Noise of the Cannon. The Besiegers however looked upon them with other Eyes, and believing them a strong Party the Enemy sent from *Niddrie* to relieve the besieged, fled as fast as they could towards the city. In this unreasonable Confusion, and Fear imagined Danger, they fell into a real one; as they were running away, and had most of them (lest it should retard their Flight) left their Arms behind them, the Enemy came upon them in good Earnest; seven of their Number were killed, and fifteen taken Prisoners, all of them Burgesses or Freemen of the City, who were as little bred to running as to fighting, and were too much frightened to make Use even of the few Heels they could have shown on a less dangerous Occasion. This Affair happened upon the 3d; the fifteen Citizens were hanged that Night, and were the last of this

this Kind who suffered ; for on the 8th of the Month the *Douglas Wars*, or this cruel Form proceeding, was, at the Instance of the French and *English* Ambassadors, given over, with the Consent of both Parties.

The Siege of *Niddrie-Seaton* being raised, the Relief of *Merchiston*, the Governor found Means to supply his Masters at *Edinburgh* with some Corn, and about fifty or sixty Oxen. These who guarded the Booty were, in the Return, taken by the Lairds of *Colington* and *Curryhill*, and imprisoned at *Corstorphin*. The Governor galled the Loyalists, lest it should discourage the Garrison and Governor of *Niddrie* ; and to them see how much they resented the Loss, Lord *Seaton* was sent with an hundred Horse who took the Laird of *Curryhill* out of his own House, and delivered him to the Governor. The same Day he lighted by Chance upon *Crawfurd* of *Liffnorris*, who was coming to *Leith*, attended with forty Horse, to assist the Associators ; these, with their Leader, were taken without Blows, and sent next Morning to the Governor, to keep *Curryhill* Company, but in a Day or two after were exchanged for the same at *Corstorphin* : *Seaton* however kept the Horse to himself, and brought them into *Edinburgh* loaded with Provisions, which he bought at double Price from the Country People ; nor did the Loyalists at any Time after take so much as one Bushel of Corn which they did not pay for, tho' they often compelled the Owners to sell it.

Having Money enough, and wanting nothing but Bread, they sent Captain *Wachop* with six hundred Foot by Sea to *Aberdeen*, to assist *Gordon*

ordered out at the same Time the Captains *Arthur Hamilton* and *Gilbert Montgomery*, with hundred and fifty Horse, to bring in Provisions. These succeeded so well, that they were in a very little Time Masters of above an hundred Sacks of Meal, and about fourscore Oxen; in their Return were set upon by the Garrison of *Merchiston*, and a Party from *Leith*, who being abroad at the same Time, and upon the same Errand, came in to the Assistance of the other, upon the Noise of the first Fire. *Hamilton* and *Montgomery* were resolved not to be driven out of their Bread, which they had purchased with the Expence of Money and long marches, and defended themselves with great bravery against unequal Numbers, till a Party from the Castle came in to their Relief, and turned the Balance. Here the Associators were soundly beaten, fifty of them were taken Prisoners, and about twenty-seven were killed on the Spot; amongst whom were their chief Officers, *Patrick Hume of Polwart*, and ——— of *Heuch*. The Loyalists lost but two common Soldiers, one of which fell by a Shot from the Castle of *Merchiston*. This Action, which was (but for what Reason I know not) called the *Cairnie Fight*, happened upon the pe- culiar Day of *June*, and put an End to Business that Month.

If Affairs went well with the Loyalists in the North, we will find them in no worse Condition in the North: There *Gordon*, who had taken many considerable Places from the Rebels, was lying before the Castle of *Glenbervie*, with a pretty considerable Army. The Regent, to put a Stop

Stop to the long Course of his Victories, *General Robert Douglas Earl of Buchan*, with an equal Number of Forces, to raise the Siege ; but *General Gordon* advertised of his coming, resolved to meet him sooner than he had done *Forbes*, and leaving the Foot in their Trenches, marched off with his Horse only, without Sound of Trumpets. When he came within two Miles of *Brechin*, where *Buchan* and his Troops lay secure and at Rest, he acquainted them with his Design, and ordered three hundred of the best mounted to pass the Over-way, and enter the West-end of the Town by a narrow and unfrequented Ford, resolving himself, with the main Body, to make the Attack at the Bridge towards the North. But these either losing their Way, the Night being extremely dark, or thinking the Service too dangerous, retired severally to their own Houses, without attempting any thing, nor did even one Man of them return again to the Army. *General Gordon* in the mean Time knew nothing of the Matter, and, trusting to their Assistance, came furiously on, that, forcing his Entry by the Bridge, his Trumpets in the Streets first awakened the careless and drowsy Enemy ; instead of being able to get to their Arms, many of them run away almost stark naked ; *Buchan* had the good Fortune to escape with three hundred Horse ; but the rest of his Army came not so easily off. Forty-nine were killed, a vast Number wounded, and no less than one hundred and ninety taken Prisoners, most of them Gentlemen. This Action, which happened on the 5th of *July*, and was called the Battle of *Brechin*, justly added to the Reputation of *General Gordon*.

Arms

Arms ; and that Reputation was considerably heightened by the Use he made of his Victory ; for as soon as it was Day-light, having ordered all the Prisoners to be brought before him, he made them the following Speech, which the Reader may take in the original Stile :

“ Good Countrymen, ye know that all Victory lies in the Hand of God, to quhais hally Name be all Laud, Praise and Honour for ever. Ye be now by his good Pleasure all under the Will of your Adversar, but Vengeance doth not become a Christian Man. For albeit ye have thir mony Days bygane made stubborn Resistance to the Queen’s Majesty’s lawful Power, and me her Lieutenant, yet will I not use any Severity against you at this Time, for any evil Example offered unto me by the Tyranny used by the Regents ; but be the contrair, I will offer you all Humanity that I may, providing that fra this Day forth ye will behave yourselves as respectful Subjects to the Queen, and never come in the contrair, whilk I beseek you to do, and promise here unto me, as ye will answer to God.”

As he uttered the last Words, every Man held up his Hand, and ecchoed them back again ; all of them promised an unalterable Loyalty for the future ; and each of them becoming bound for the good Behaviour of the rest, they were all dismissed without Ransom or Exchange.

U

Being

Being resolved to push his good Fortune, before his new acquired Laurels could wither, he marched with his small Army of Horse, and sat down before the Town of *Monrofs*, or (more properly) *Montrose*. The Magistrates, frightened to find a conquering Enemy so near their Gates, call a general Council, and sent two of their Number to wait upon him, and, tho' they knew too well his Errand, to ask him if he came in that warlike Posture as a Friend, or a Foe. *Gordon*, who expected they would have come with Halters about their Necks, or at least in a very submissive Posture, would not so much as see them, but ordered one of his Captains to give them the following Answer, which he drew up in Writing, and to allow them a Safe-guard back to the Town :

“ 1. That they should acknowledge him as the Queen's Lieutenant.

“ 2. That they should never oppone themselves in Word or Deed against the Queen's Authority, but should fortify and assist her and her Lieutenant with all their Might.

“ 3. That for observing and acknowledging of thir Premises, they should give in some of their Burgeesses unto him, to remain with him as Hostages : And,

“ 4. Because they had offended in Time gone, they should offer him a certain pecuniary Sum in Recompense of their Remission to be granted for the same.”

These Articles were not long disputed in Council, the Danger was too great to admit warm Debates, and the two Ambassadors were sent back with a speedy Answer. They were

heartily satisfied to own the Queen's Authority, and his Commission, as her Lieutenant, and only deprecated the sending of Hostages. As for the Money required for a Pardon, they desired him to condescend upon a particular Sum, and begged it might be such as could be paid cheerfully, and not ruin them and their needy Families. *Gordon* was easily mollified with their mortified Way of addressing him, and having named a very modest Sum, which was instantly paid down, returned without Hostages to finish the Siege of *Glenbervie*.

The Regent in the mean time finding both *Forbes* and *Buchan* routed, resolved to raise the Siege himself, and made what Haste he could to the North; but not being joined as he expected by the People of the Country, whom *Gordon's* Lenity and Success had entirely subdued, he was forced to return without attempting any Thing, and, to hide his Weakness, give out, that he was obliged to wait upon the *French* and *English* Ambassadors. Thus stood Affairs in the South and North; and if we look towards the West, we will there too find the Loyalists no less successful. The Lord *Sempil*, who had got a Gift of the Lord *Claud Hamilton's* Estate, possessed the Abbey of *Paisley* with a strong Garrison, and hourly harassed that Lord's Tenants, now made his own, because they professed openly a Kindness for their old Master. My Lord *Claud*, to give them a fair Opportunity of expressing that Affection they had for him, and to do himself Justice at the same Time, besieged the Abbey; and indeed his Tenants considerably increased the Number of his Forces.

Sempil, who saw no Body coming to his Relief, and the Besiegers growing daily stronger, resolved to defend himself as long as he could, without losing his Men. But being at last quite destitute of Provisions, and having, as he believed, lighted upon a lucky Opportunity too of beating off the Enemy, he made a vigorous Sally. The Loyalists however received him with more Courage than he expected, killed forty-two of his ablest Soldiers, took fifteen Prisoners, and obliged him at last to surrender upon Discretion. *Ferniehirst* in the mean time dealt severely with the Town of *Jedburgh*; for having fired all that Stock of Fuel which they had provided for the ensuing Winter, he took ten of the hardiest of their Men, who came out to quench the Flame, and hang'd them without any Manner of Trial, upon an Ash Tree which grew at the End of the Town.

Drury now finding all Things going to wreck, that is, going against the Rebels, and for the banished Queen, used his utmost Diligence to procure that Peace he had secretly opposed before; and being sincerely backed by *Croc*, who was too blind in this Affair, a Truce for two Months was readily condescended to by both Parties. That this was an unpardonable Oversight, both in the *French* Ambassador and the Loyalists in general, is an undeniable Truth: They were at this Time Masters of the first City, and the first Fort of the Kingdom; they had Money enough; their Garrisons of *Niddrie*, *Levingston* and *Blackness*, supplied them with Provisions; the last of these stopped all Communication and Trade by Water, betwixt the

Affe.

Associators at *Leith* and those at *Stirling*; *Gordon* carried all before him in the North; *Sempil* was defeated in the West; and *Ferniehirst* triumphed in the South. But to be brief, the Truce, which they hoped would usher in a profound and lasting Peace, was huddled up the very last Day of this Month, [*July 1572,*] and proclaimed first at *Edinburgh*, and then at *Leith*, to the great Relief and Joy of the common Sort, who embrace present Ease without any Regard to Consequences. To satisfy the curious, I insert a Copy of this Abstinence (for so it was always called) in its original Stile :

WE the Nobility and others, Subjects of the Realm of *Scotland*, at the Instance and Exhortation of the Ambassadors of the Most Christian King of *France*, and of the Queen of *England*, made unto us, for ourselves, or Assistars, Partakers, and sic as depend on us ; be the Tenor hereof, promises an Abstinence and Cessation from Hostility, betwixt us and our Adversars, that presently be in Arms against us, their Assistars, Partakers, and sic as depends on them, to begin this present Day, to wit, the Thirty-one of *July*, and indure while twa Months be fullily outrun ; during the whilks, we oblige us, and promise, that with all Security the said Abstinence from War, and Cessation from Hostility, shall continue : And if it shall happen the Nobility and the Estates of this Realm to convene at anie Part, to advyse upon general Peace and good Order to be tane for the Country, that, in that Cais, they, with their full Companies,

"panies, shall be in Surety, in their coming
 "to the Place, remaining or returning therefrae
 "during the said Space of twa Months. And
 "to the Effect that sae good and necessar
 "Work be not hindered, we accord, that du
 "ring the Truce or Abstinence, twa, thrie
 "four or fyve, mae or fewer of aither of the
 "Parties, may commune together in all Surety
 "in sic Place as shall be agreid upon, to open
 "up the Means for the mair facile attaining to
 "a good Peace. And if it shall chance (whill
 "God forbid) that in the Assembly of the said
 "Nobility and Estates, the Peace and Reconci
 "liation may not be concluded, We be the Te
 "nor heirof, for our Pairts, refers the Differ
 "ence betwixt us and our Adversars to the Ar
 "bitriment of the Maist Christian King of
 "*France*, and to the Queen of *England*; and
 "promises faithfully on our Honours, to accept
 "all Conditions concerning the Peace whill
 "they shall propone unto us. Providing that
 "the Persons following be subject to the Cen
 "sure of Law, whensoever they may be appre
 "hended, notwithstanding of this present Ab
 "stinence; that is to say, *James Earl Both*
 "*well*, *John Ormiston* of that Ilk, *Patrick*
 "*Hepburn* of *Beinston*, *Patrick Wilson*, *James*
 "*Hamilton* of *Bothwel-haugh*, and *John Ha*
 "*milton* his Brother, with the haill Theeves
 "and broken Men, Inhabitants of Borders and
 "Highlands, Disturbers of the publick Peace
 "betwixt this Realm and *England*, and Oppres
 "sors of the peaceable Subjects of the Realm
 "And we promise on our Honours, that we
 "shall cover nane of their Faults, but sic as

" he

"hes bein directly done in our Quarrel. And
 "giff, during the Abstinence, they shall hap-
 "pen to do Wrang to any Man, we all consent
 "that they be punished as apperteins, and shall
 "seik nae Impunity against them for any At-
 "tempt done against *England*, but understands
 "that they shall be answerable for them, con-
 "form to the Laws of the Borders. And to the
 "Effect that the haill Subjects of this Realm
 "may assure themselves to be presently dischar-
 "ged of the Burden of War, and may with
 "the greater Desyre embrace Peace when it
 "shall please God to send it, we agrie, That
 "during the said Abstinence, all the Subjects of
 "this Realm, of whatsoever Quality and Con-
 "dition they be of, (except before excepted)
 "may freely and liberally resort and haunt,
 "speak and convene together over all the Pairts
 "of this Realme, untroubled, molested, or im-
 "pesched aither in Bodie or Goods, be Word
 "or Deed, in the Law, or besyde the Law;
 "and takes our saids Adversaries bearing Arms
 "against us, their Assisters and Partakers, and
 "sic as depend on them, mutually in our Pro-
 "tection, consorting ane with another faith-
 "fully, without all Murmur, that may be done
 "be aither of us, or anie that we promise for,
 "or be anie of them that be Enemyes to Peace.
 "Mairover, we promitt to use all Means of
 "Peace, to have familiar Communication and
 "Conversation ane with another; to the Ef-
 "fect the Hearts of the Offendars, and offend-
 "ed Persons, may be mollified and induced to
 "forzet Things that are already bypast, and
 "thereafter to acknowledge that we are Mem-
 "bers

“ bers of a Body of a Country, and natural
 “ *Scotsmen*, na Communication or Conversation
 “ on shall be forbidden be aither of us to uthers
 “ but promitts Liberty over all Places, Towns
 “ and Bounds, wherever it may be. Providing
 “ that the Town of *Edinburgh* first be set a
 “ Libertie, and to be made patent to every In
 “ trant, sae that nae Place thereof shall be for
 “ tified and with-halden with Garrisons, saving
 “ the Castle and Fortress that of auld, and a
 “ fore the Troubles, hes bein accustomed to be
 “ fortified and guarded, that by this Mean all
 “ Men and Servants, without Fear of Soldier
 “ or Violence, may freely enter and dwell in
 “ their awin Houses as they please, induring
 “ the saids Truce and Abstinence. And becaus
 “ many Persons within this Realm, during the
 “ Troubles, are seasit upon others Lands, and
 “ the Fruites thereof are presently to be collect
 “ ed in, to the Effect that nae Stop or Imped
 “ ment of Peace may eschew thereon, we ac
 “ cord and agree, that these who has the said
 “ Lands shall not uplift the Fruites and Corn
 “ thereof, but shall leave the samin stacked in
 “ Granges, or upon the Fields, undisponed up
 “ on any Way, while the End of the said Ab
 “ stinence. And for observing and fulfilling
 “ of all these Articles above specified, we ob
 “ lige us, upon our Faith and Honours, and
 “ be our solemn Aiths, to keep for ourselves
 “ and to cause and compel all our Adherents
 “ to do the like. In Witness whereof, we have
 “ subscribed the same with our Hands at *Edin
 “ burgh* and *Leith*, in Presence of the Ambassa
 “ dors foresaids.”

This was one of the worst Steps the Loyalists could make, and was an heavier Blow to the Queen's Interest than the Battle of *Langside*; but how far they were over-reached, will best appear from what followed. That very Night the Abstinence was proclaimed, those who had before abandoned the City, returned from *Leith*, with the whole rebellious Army; and tho' by the Truce it was expressly provided, "That no Man should be injured," yet these kept all the Time a strong Guard at the High-Church, alarmed all the loyal Citizens, and by their Officers had no less than free Quarters assigned them during the Abstinence. The next Morning, being the first of *August*, the Regent, *Morton*, and the rest of the Associators, came likewise to take Possession of the City, *Chastellerauld* and *Huntly*, the Queen's Lieutenants, having left it about an Hour before. As to the Meeting mentioned in the Truce, in order to treat of a Peace, the Ambassadors being both gone, it was delayed, by *Morton's* Artifices, till the Time was almost expired. However, they met on the 27th of *September*, in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*; but because nothing could be expected from a Consultation of three Days only, the Abstinence was continued to the first of *January* following: *Grange* in the mean time put them the following Articles:

Articles

Articles for the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and others therein, September 2 1572.

" 1. **A**LL the Persons Principalls now rem-
 " nent within the Castle, for themselves
 " the Captaines whae have served, and no
 " serves, desires that be a Declarator in Parli-
 " ment they may be discharged of all Crim-
 " committed be them, or anie of them, fr-
 " the Beginning of the Troubles; and that
 " Acts, Decreits, Sentences, or whatsome-
 " Process led against them, aither in Parliamen-
 " in secret Councel, before the Justice-Gener-
 " and his Deputes, and before any other Ju-
 " ges, to be declared null and of nae Effect
 " and all Writings made thereanent to be ca-
 " celled and obliterate, and to be retreated p-
 " sently, that they may be entered unto the
 " Roumes, Heritages and Possessions; and th-
 " nae Person or Persons injure or slander the
 " for any Cause or Occasion bygane, under
 " Pain of Death.

" 2. *Item*, The Captain desyres to ma-
 " Compt and Restitution of all the Princ-
 " Jewels and moveable Goods, delyvered un-
 " him at the Acceptatione of the House, aith-
 " to the Queen's Lieutenants, or to sic oth-
 " Person or Persons, as the Nobilitie now
 " sembled shall decern, and that he may ha-
 " a sufficient Discharge thereupon, be Act-
 " Parliament, as also a Discharge of the God-
 " of the People of *Edinburgh* put there-
 " Cul-

Custody, provyding they crave Restitution in a Month.

" 3. *Item*, They desyre, that the Castle of *Blackness*, with sufficient Ordinance, be given in Keeping to some condigne Man of their Companie, be Consent of baith Pairties, together with the Rent annexit thereunto.

" 4. *Item*, That the Airs of the Lord *Fleming*, the Laird of *Wormestane*, and uthers that were slayne, and depairted this Lyfe in the Queen's Cause, may enter into their Heritages and Roumes, as tho' they had never bein forsalted.

" 5. *Item*, That the Castles of *Home* and *Fas-castle*, with the Lands and Mains thereof, be restored to my Lord *Hume*, and the Abbey of *Coldinghame*, with Houses, Grainges, Mains, and all other Pertinents, be restored to *John Maitland*, Prior thereof, and that the Queen of *England* shall promise to maintain and defend them therein.

" 6. *Item*, The Captain desyres, in respect he has contracted Debts in thir Weirs, that he may have the Soume of twenty thousand Merks allowed to him for Payment thereof.

" 7. *Item*, The Captain desyres, that my Lord of *Morton* shall resign the Superiority of the Lands of *Grange*, and uthers Lands annexed thereto, in the King's Hands, to be halden of the Crown in all Time to come.

" 8. *Item*, The Captain desyres, that ane of his Gentlemen may have Libertie to pass into *England*, and speak with the Queen of *Scotland*."

" 9. *Item*,

“ 9. *Item*, The Lords within the Castle de
 “ fyres the House to be consigned in the Hand
 “ of the Earl of *Rothes*, with the haill Fri
 “ nishing and Rent appertaining thereto, and
 “ that Licence and Passport may be granted
 “ them to repair to *France*, or to sic Pairts i
 “ *Scotland* as they shall think maist convenient
 “ and that the Earl of *Rothes* may be Sovere
 “ for Accomplishment of all thir Premises.”

These Articles, tho’ judged most reasonable by the Regent, and some of his best Friends were nevertheless, by *Morton’s* Influence, who hated *Grange*, and was naturally inclined to nourish Civil Dissensions, rejected by the Convention, where, as in the Council, he had at least five Followers for the Regent’s one. It was alleged that the 7th Article made him oppose the rest but in his Speech before the Business was put to the Vote, he seemed not to remember any thing of that Kind, and only urged, “ That granting the
 “ Justice of the first three, he might, without
 “ being suspected of Prejudice or Partiality, as
 “ firm that all the rest ought flatly to be denied
 “ since it could not but prove a Matter of very
 “ ill Consequence, and a dangerous Precedent
 “ especially when they designed a Treaty of
 “ Peace, to reward a Man who was alone the
 “ Author of all the late Troubles, and paid
 “ those Debts which he had only contracted in
 “ maintaining a Civil War he ought to have
 “ avoided.” To be brief, the Convention resolved
 without effecting any thing.

This Baulk and shuffling of Business sat heavily upon the good Regent, who was as much inclined

lined to Peace as *Morton* was averſe to it: He ſaw that he had no more than the empty Title of the Supreme Magiſtrate; the factious Earl had ingroſſed all the Power to himſelf, and was ſo very formidable that he could not gratify the meanest of his own Relations with the moſt indifferent Poſt. Since his Acceſſion to the Regency, the young King's Intereſt had daily decayed. When any Attempt ſucceeded, the Honour was *Morton's*; and when Things were done amiſs, the Name of Regent again made him the Author of the Miſcarriage. Theſe Things haſtened his End; for contracting ſudden Sickneſs, which all the Nation believed was owing to his Melancholy, he expired at *Stirling* the 28th of the next Month, [October 1572] about Five o'Clock in the Morning; the only Man in the Kingdom perhaps who could have enjoyed that Poſt he poſſeſſed, without Envy, and left it without the Loſs of his Reputation; for by both Parties he was, in Spite of their mutual Heats, confeſſed a Man of Honesty and Senſe. During his Illneſs, becauſe his Son was then a Minor, he appointed his Brother *Alexander Erſkine*, and the Laird of *Tullibardine*, Governors for the young King, and Keepers of the Caſtle of *Stirling*: But how *Morton* managed that Matter afterwards, in Hopes to remove all the Family of *Mar* for ever from that Office, comes not properly in my Way. In this Month too died that great but factious Preacher Mr. *John Knox*, who was indeed an eminent Inſtrument in reclaiming the Nation from the Errors of the *Romiſh* Church, and had a more conspicuous Monument of his Sancti-

ty behind him, had he meddled less in Civil Business, and, when he opposed the Authority of the Pope, paid a just Obedience to his Sovereign, who made no Pretensions to Infallibility.

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

A F F A I R S o f S C O T L A N D ,

From the Death of the Earl of
MAR, to the Death of the Earl of
MORTON.

IN the Beginning of the next Month the Earl of *Morton* was elected Regent, with the Applause of his own Favourites only ; for many of his Party dreaded the Tyranny of so severe a Master. In a Day or two after he fell ill of a Fever ; and *Lethington*, who now despair'd of making a Figure against so powerful an Enemy, endeavour'd to make Use of the Opportunity, for we are then generally pliable, to curry Favour : He sent him a very elegant Letter, nor too stiff, nor too mean, but kept a Medium betwixt the haughty and submissive Address of one that would purchase his Friendship handsomely, and not beg it meanly, modestly hinting too those good Offices he had done him when it was his Fortune to be a Favourite, at a Time when his Lordship was in Disgrace with

the exiled Queen. *Morton*, tho' very sick when he read the Letter, yet kept the same Humour he had always about him when in perfect Health and being no Stranger to *Lethington's* shifting Temper, who was out of his Element but when his Hand was in a Plot, sent him back no other Answer, but that, " If he had ever received any Marks of Friendship from him, he had since that Time repaid them with double Interest." I do not find that ever another Letter or Message past betwixt them after this strange Return *.

Soon after his Recovery, arrived Mr. *Killigrew*, Ambassador from the Queen of England to congratulate his Accession to the Regency and privately to concert Measures for destroying those who yet owned the Authority of the banished Queen: His Business above Board was to spin out the Truce or Abstinence, which, in Effect, was the Way to accomplish what he was to manage under the Hatches. *Morton* in the mean time found *Chastelherault* and *Huntly* fond enough of embracing a Peace upon good Conditions, and such he failed not to offer; but foreseeing that if those of the Castle should come in at the same Time, the Party would still be as strong as ever, and upon the least Provocation might again take the Field, he made it his chief Care to divide them. *Killigrew* secretly fostered the Mischief by insinuating under-hand to *Grange* and the Lord *Hume*, " That the Queen of England would assist neither of the

" Par-

* These Letters contain something more material than all here mentioned. In them they accuse one another of King Henry's Murder.

"Parties against the other." Morton on the other Hand, that he might not be wanting in this Part of the Game, refused all Manner of Conditions, and would have the Governor surrender upon Discretion, or nothing. Grange too came more than Half-way to meet his own Ruin, and swallowed the Bait as fast as his Enemies could wish ; for he was fully as indifferent in advancing the Peace as they would have him. Matters standing thus betwixt the Regent and Castilians, for so those of the Castle were often called, the Lord *Lindsay* was chosen Provost or Mayor of the City. His hot fiery Temper, which led him always into Extremes and Acts of Violence, made him a fit Instrument to begin the Rupture ; for he was no sooner elected, tho' the Truce was not yet at an End, than he ordered two Bulwarks to be raised in the Streets to shelter the Citizens from the Cannon of the Castle, one at the End of the Tolbooth, in the narrow Passage on the North-side, and the other before the North Gate of the High Church.

The Governor in the mean time complained aloud of the Violation of the late Treaty, and justly alledged that this was making War when they were bound by their Oaths and Honours to the contrary ; but this Remonstrance was in vain ; however, that he might not give them the least Pretence or Shadow for an Excuse, he sat quietly down with the Injury till the Truce expired. As soon as the first of *January* came, he saluted the Citizens pretty early in the Morning with his Cannon ; most of the Shot were levelled against a Fish-market which had been but lately built, and one of the Bullets alighting

at last amongst the Fishes, scattered them about the Streets, and beat some of them so high into the Air, that they were seen for many Days after lying upon the Tops of the Houses, which by the bye are none of the lowest. The Novelty of the Thing drew many Women and Boys to the Place, and made them forget the Danger ; the poorer Sort flocked only to gather for themselves what they now believed every Body had a Right to ; but in this Hurry came another Bullet from the Castle, and lighting in the very same Place, killed five of them, and hurt above twenty, of which scarce above one Half recovered. The next Day Sir *James Balfour* abandoned both the Castle and the Cause, and by submitting to the King's Authority, was restored to his Estate, and the Regent's Favour. *Kilbracken* having helped to start the Game betwixt the two Parties, would have left them to finish the Chace ; but *Morton* easily persuaded him to stay and assist him in carrying on an intended Treaty at *Perth*.

Grange nothing disheartened or weakened by the Loss of the perfidious *Balfour*, for he had too often changed to be relied upon by either Party, by a Proclamation over the Castle Walls in the Queen's Name commanded all her loyal Subjects to retire out of the City, that they might not suffer with the guilty. The Regent at the same Time put out another Proclamation, not at all despairing to bring *Chastelherault* and *Huntly* to a separate Treaty, commanding " That no Man, under Pain of Death " should prosecute the War, or do any thing " that might retard a Treaty for a thorough " Peace

Peace, notwithstanding the late Truce was "expired." It is more than probable that all Morton's Endeavours for this Peace, upon his own Terms, would nevertheless have proved ineffectual, had not a very odd Passage happened which much discouraged the Loyalists, and robbed them of the Power of making a vigorous War.

The Reader may remember that Sir James Kirkaldie left Gordon at Aberdeen, and went over to France : There, by the Scots Queen's Permission, he obtained a whole Year's Revenue of her Jointure, to be employed in her Service in Scotland ; but when he returned, he found, by virtue of the Abstinence, the City of Edinburgh possess'd by her Enemies, and that it was impracticable to deliver the Money to his Brother, who was Governor of the Castle, and alone made War against the Associators. Upon the 26th therefore he landed at Blackness, that Port being yet in the Hands of the Loyalists, and there believed both his Person and the Queen's Money secure ; but the Governor the very next Day acknowledged the young King's Authority, and delivered all the Gold to the Regent, in return for his own Pardon. Kirkaldie himself was clapt in Irons, and lay about three Days in that melancholy Condition, robbed both of his Money and Liberty ; but the treacherous Governor having gone to Edinburgh to wait upon his new Master the Earl of Morton, Sir James so far prevailed with the Soldiers, that they laid violent Hands upon his Brother, whom he had left to command in his Absence, knocked off Sir James's Irons, and put them upon

upon him, unanimously declared themselves for the Queen, and instantly provided themselves from the Neighbourhood with all Things necessary for those who resolved to endure a Siege. Thus we see Sir *James Kirkaldie*, in less than four Days Time, at Liberty and a Prisoner, and again not only made free, but Governor of the Place where an Hour before he lay in Iron. The Castle was of no small Importance to the Owners, and *Morton* at any rate resolved to have it back again; but to attempt it by Force was to hinder the going on of the Treaty which was already begun at *Perth*; and having debauched Sir *James's* Wife, during that Gentleman's long Stay in *France*, he resolved to make Use of her in this Affair, that he might regain the Castle as suddenly, and with as little Expence as he lost it. Her secret Lewdness had taught her how to dissemble, and having broken her Marriage Vow, she could stick at nothing now to oblige a Lover, for whom she had often been guilty of Perjury: And being fully instructed how to carry on the Plot, upon the 10th of *February*, she went to the Castle to see her injured Husband; Sir *James* received her as his better Half, and entertained her with an agreeable Story of the late Revolution of his Affairs, and his Business in *France*; but Night coming on, and she pretending that she was necessarily obliged to return that Evening to her Family, he unwillingly consented to part with her. This was not, however, all she wanted; her chief Aim was to decoy him into the Field, and having told him that she durst not return without a Guard, lest she should fall into the

nem

enemies Hands, who, for his Sake, would use her roughly ; he readily offered to wait upon her with the best Part of the Garrison, till she was out of Danger. She seemed shy enough of accepting the Offer at first ; but having yielded to his Importunity, he had not gone far when Captain *Lambie*, who lay waiting with his Company at the Back of a little Hill hard by the Castle, took both him and his Guard Prisoners ; the rest of the Garrison yielded next Minute, and Sir *James* was sent to *Lithgow*, and from thence to *Dalkeith*, where he shortly afterwards made his Escape, and got safe into the Castle of *Edinburgh*. This unfortunate Gentleman's Wife did not long reap the Fruits of her Treachery ; for about eight Days after, she was, in the Night-time strangled in her own Bed-chamber, tho' by whom is to this Hour a Secret. As for the Garrison, five of the private Soldiers were hanged over the Castle Wall, to terrify the rest from revolting a third Time.

Grange, tho' the Treaty was going on, and the Associators had thus got both his Brother and the Queen's Money into their Hands, was still battering the City with his Cannon, and about two Days after Sir *James's* last Imprisonment, in the Night-time, the Wind blowing very high, ordered some of his Soldiers to fire a few thatched Houses near the City Gate which respects the West. The Citizens used their utmost Endeavours to quench the Flame ; but the Cannon being all the while play'd from the Castle, to second the Fire, and scatter those who endeavoured to assist their Neighbours, it raged from the Gate to *St. Magdalen's Chapel*, with-

without Opposition, and where a Vacuity only could have put a Stop to its Fury. This Action did *Grange* very little Service, and kindled a Hatred against him in the Hearts of the Citizens that was hardly extinguished again even with his Death. But to come to the Treaty at *Perth* which I have only hitherto hinted, to avoid Confusion,

Chastelherault and *Huntly* were not so stiff as *Grange*; they had suffered long and inexorable Hardships, especially the first of these, and were grown now more pliable and ready to embrace a Peace. *Chastelherault*, worn out with the long Fatigue and Old Age, sent his Son Lord *John Hamilton*, Abbot of *Arbroath*, to attend in his Place; and the Regent employed such of his Friends as he could best trust, with full Power to treat and determine in all Matters that concerned the desired Peace, and the young King's Interest, promising himself to reside at *Aberdour*, and wait the Event. This Treaty gave the finishing Stroke to Queen *Mary's* Interest in *Scotland*: It was begot at the Instance of the French Ambassador and *Drury*, by a two Months Truce, and brought forth as a lasting Monument of Want of Conduct among the Loyalists, who thus tamely abandoned their just Cause which they had so long defended with Honour. To satisfy the curious Reader, I shall here give him a faithful Copy of this great Treaty at *Perth*, and leave him to judge of that, and what followed, of *Le Croc* and the whole Party's Oversight in abandoning the Cause of *Edinburgh*, and in interrupting the prosperous Course of the Queen's Affairs by a Treachery

when it was easy to have foreseen that Rebels, who had offended so highly, could never hope to be pardoned, and would therefore never trust to a Peace, unless they had the Upper-hand of those who had the Power and Right to punish them.

The Treaty at Perth.

AT Perth, the twenty-thrie Day of February, 1572. The noble and mighty Lords underwritten, they are to say *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, Lord *Campbell* and *Lorn*, Chancellor and Justice General of this Realm; John Earl of *Montrose*, Lord *Grahame*, *William* Lord *Ruthven*, Thesaurer to our Sovereign Lord, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Robert* Commendator of *Dumfermling*, his Highness Secretar, and Sir *John Balguyden* of *Achnoul*, Knight, Justice Clerk to his Majesty, Commissioners to his Highness, to the Effect under written, specially constitute, on the one Part: And *George* Earl of *Huntlie*, Lord *Gordon* and *Badzenoch* for himself, his Kin, Friends, and Partakers, now presently depending on him; and Lord *John* *Hamilton* Commendator of the Abbey of *Arbroath* for himself, and taking the Burden upon him for Lord *Claude* *Hamilton* his Brother, and all others the Kin, Friends, Servants and Partakers, now depending properly on the Duke his Grace of *Chastelherault* his Father, and the House of *Hamilton* on the other Part: Being convened for treating and communicating of the removing of the common troubles and civil Wars, now presently in the Realm,

Realm, sae long continuing therein, to the Displeasure of God, the Decay and Danger of the Religion, the Hurt and Prejudice of our Sovereign Lord's Authority royal, and to the Confusion of the Laws, Policy, and haille Estate of this Common-wealth, having heirtowards earnest Motions and Solicitation of the Queen's Majesty of *England*, nearest Princess in the World to his Highness baith be Blood and Marriage, made on her Highness Behalfe, be the right Worshipful Mr. *Henry Killengrew*, her Majesty's Ambassadour: After mature Deliberation and Advise, to the Pleasure of almighty God, (quha is the God of Peace) the Religion of Jesus Christ, and of the royal Person and Authority of our Sovereign Lord, and common Peace and Quietness of this Realm, have decreed, concorded and agreed as after follows.

First, that all and whatsoever Persons shall pretend to claim the Benefite of this Pacification to be in our Sovereign Lord's Favor, to have his Pardone to be granted unto them, shall be knowne and profess the Religion now publicly preached and professed within this Realm, as established by Laws and Acts of Parliament, in the first Year of our Sovereign Lord's Reign, and shall, to the utmost of their Power, maintain and assist the Preachers and Professours thereof against all the Gainstanders of the same, of whatsoever Nation, State, or Degree they be, that has assisted, or do assist to set forward, the Decrees of the *Council of Trent*, called the *League*, made against the Preachers and Professours of the Evangel.

2. *Item*, That the Earl of *Huntlie* and L

Hamilton, for themselves and others their dependers, now submitting them to the King's obedience, and acknowledging the Government of James Earl of Morton, now Regent, or any other Regents to be lawfully called, during his Highness Minority, for themselves, their Aires and Successours, presently and all Tyme coming, shall recognosce his Highness Authority and Regiment foresaid, and shall acknowledge them to be his debtful Subjects be Aithes and Subscriptions.

3. Item, They grant and confess that all things done or assisted unto be them, in Name of onie other Authority nor the King's sen his Coronatione, against onie that professed his Majesty's Obedience for the Tyme, hes bein unlawful, and hes nae Strength, Force nor Effect, and shall have nae Execution for onie Tyme by-ane or to come.

4. Item, That it shall be statute and ordained by ane Act of Parliament, that nae Subjects of this Realm, shall onie Way be themselves, assist, fortifie, supplie, and shaw Favour to onie the Subjects of this Realm, or onie Stranger, who shall privily or openly practise any treasonable Fact against the Religion foresaid, the Royal Authority and Person of our sovereign Lord, and this present Regent, in Time coming, under the Pain of Law; and quha does in the contrary, and resists not the Attempts that shall happen, to be committed to the uttermost of their power, that the Remissions and Pardons presently granted, or to be granted, shall be of nae avail, and the Benefit of the Pacification shall

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not

not serve, nor be extended to their Favour hereafter.

5. *Item*, That all Persons dispossessed during the Troubles shall be presently repossessed in their Houses, Rents, Benefices, Lands, Tacks and Corns ; and also to all Goods moveable except Horse and Armour. And for execution thereof, the King's Letters shall be direct against the Detainers, to restore to the Awners, within six Hours after the Charge, under the Pain of Treasone.

6. *Item*, That the Castle of *Spynie* be rendered to the Regent within fifteen Days after it be required.

7. *Item*, That the Master of *Forbes*, *James Glen of Barre* with his Son, and all others Prisoners in the Possession of *Adam Gordon*, Brother to my Lord *Huntlie*, be presentlie, with all possible Diligence, after the Publication of this present Pacification, set at Libertie ; and that the Lord *Sempill's* Band, and all other Bands for Entrie of Prisoners, or Bands or Promises for Payment of Ransom, in ony Time bygane, preceeding the Date hereof, be freed and discharged be virtue of this present Pacification.

8. *Item*, It is concluded, That the Earl of *Montrose*, the Lord *Glammis*, and Sir *John Wisheart* of *Pitarro* Knight, conjunctly, shall be Judges for Restitution of all Goods reft or spuilzeit, be virtue of thir Troubles, Before the Water of *Forth*, and that, according to the simple Avail, providing it be craved within the Year and Day after the Publication of thir Articles of Pacification ; and that the like Matter

on the South-side of *Forth* be judged be the Lord *Boyd*, *Mark* Commendator of *Newbottle*, and the Justice-Clerk ; and that nae other Judges shall have Power to cognosce in these Matters. And in case it shall happen that the nominate Judges will not accept of this Office, that others shall be chosen and elected in their Places.

9. Item, That the Earl of *Huntlie* and Lord *John Hamilton* shall presentlie discharge their Soldiers, that ilk Man may return to his awin Dwelling peaceably, and without Impediment.

10. And for the better Assurance of the Persons now returning to our sovereign Lord's Obedience, and for Observation of the Conditions above specified, pledges hes bein required of them ; as also Cautioners and Soverties to be bound with themselves for their dutiful Obedience in Time coming, the said Earl of *Huntlie*, and Lord *John Hamilton*, hes, at the Sute and Request of the Queen of *England's* Ambassador foresaid, referred themselves in the Will and Discretion of the Regent, for the Entrie and Delyverance of the saids Pledges, under sic Pains as the Regent shall reasonable prescryve.

11. In respect of the whilk Conditions agreed unto, and for the Suretie to be made for performing thereof, it is accorded of the foresaid Persons, upon weightie and good Considerations tending to the Security of the Peace, Quietness, and universal Obedience of his Highness's Authority, and for due Obedience and Service to be made be them in Tyme coming, be Act of Parliament it shall be declarit and decerned, that the Sentences passit be doom of Forfaulture in Parliament, or ony other Sentence

passit before the Justice General and his Deputes, at particular Dyets and Justice Courts, and all that hes followed or may follow thereupon, whilks has bein led and deduced against the said George Earl of Huntlie, Lord John Hamilton Commendator of Aberbrothock, his Brother Lord Claud Commendator of Paisley, William Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Bishop of Galloway, Sir Adam Gordon of Auchindown Knight, Sir Andrew Hamilton of Goslington Knight, John Hamilton of Stanhouse, Alexander Hamilton of Innerweicke, George Barclay of that Ilk, James Hamilton of Ruchbank, James Hamilton in Woodhall, John Hamilton of Drany, Gawin Hamilton of Roplock, Robert Hamilton of Garren, John Hamilton his Brother, Robert Hamilton younger of Daserff, Mr. Archibald Hamilton his Brother, Mr. James Hamilton of Neylisland, Andrew Hamilton of Leckprivick, Andrew Hamilton of Netherfield, John Hamilton of Cochnocht, Arthur Hamilton of Muretone, David Hamilton of Monktonmaines, James Hamilton of Kinkavill, Mungo Hamilton of Pardoven, James Hamilton in Burnbrae, Archibald Hamilton and Andrew Hamilton, Sons to umquhile Andrew Hamilton of Cochnocht, Thomas Hamilton of Priestsfield, James Hamilton of Preston, James Muirhead of Lanchope, Alexander Baily of Littlegill, William Baily of Lormstone, James Glen of the Barr, William Glen his Son, or any of the saids Persons, before the Justice or his Deputes, or be the Regent, or be the Lords of the secret Council, for ony Crimes done in the common Cause, contrair the King or his Authority, sen the 15th Day of June,

1567,

1567, for any uther Crimes or Causes contained in the Summonds of Treasone, Sentences and Dooms foresaid, led against them sen the said 15th Day, shall have nae Execution, but shall be of nae Avail, Force, Strength nor Effect, in all Tyme coming, without any other Declaration to follow : And this present Article to extend to all other Persons forfaulted, properly comprehended under this Pacification, that they shall have alswa the King's Licence and Favour to reduce their Forfaultures, upon sic Causes and Considerations as they may libel.

12. *Item*, Be Act of Parliament it shall be declared, that all Persons quha, be Forfaulture, Acts or Decreits of Privie Council, or Session, for Crimes committed in the said common Cause sen the 15th Day of *June*, 1567, has been dispossest of their Lands and Heritages, Pensions or Benefices, heritable Offices, Honours, Tacks, Steidings, Possessions of Lands or Teynds whatsoever, shall be restored effectuellie to their Possessions thereof, to their Lands and Honours, that they may enjoy the same als freely as they did at any Time heretofore, and as if the Troubles bypast had never happened, notwithstanding of any Sentence or Doom of Forfaulture past either in Parliament, or before the Justice and his Deputes, at any particular Tymes, or for any Penalties that might have followed thereupon, proceeding upon the common Cause. And to the End that ilk Man may be repossessed to his House, the King's Letters shall be direct in his Favours against the Detainers to repossess the just Awners within six Days, under the Pain of Treason ; and that ilk Person craving the Benefit

nefit of this Pacification, shall first find Caution, and subſcryve his Obedience to the King, and his Authority Royal, and then Letters of the four Formes ſhall be ſummarly direct in his Favours, to inveſt him in all his Rents again.

13. *Item*, As touching that Article requiring that ane Act ſhall paſs in the Parliament, declaring the ſaids Perſons to be freely remitted and diſcharged, for all Attempts, Crimes, Treasons, Transgreſſions or Offences, for whatſomever Cauſe, ſen the 15th Day of *June*, 1567, againſt all Perſons being on the contrair Syde, and profeſſing another Authority for the Tyme, Inceſt, Witchcraft and Theft excepted, the ſame Article is aggried unto; ſaving that the ſame ſhall not extend to the Murtherers of umquhile the Earl of *Murray*, and the Earl of *Lenox*, whilk are Matters of ſic Weight and Importance, that the Regent cannot of himſelf conveniently remit them; but in reſpect of the Neceſſity of this preſent Pacification, it is aggried that if the Matters of Remiſſions be moved by the Committers thereof to the Queen of *England*, that whatſoever ſhe ſhall counſell in that Matter, the Regent promiſes to perform the ſame in *Scotland* be an Act of Parliament, the whilk ſubſcryved be the Clerk Register, ſhall be as good and ſufficient to the ſaids Perſons, and ilk ane of them, as gif Remiſſions were paſt to them under the Great Seal in ſpecial, or they ſhall have the ſame Remiſſions in due Forme under the Great Seal, as beſt ſhall pleaſe them; and gif any of them deſyres Remiſſion preceeding the ſaid 15th Day of *June* 1567, the ſame ſhall be granted to them, the Perſons and Crymes being

notified; the Murther of the King, our soverane Lord's Father, and all other Murthers, Fyre raising, Theft, Recept of Theft, Incest and Witchcraft only excepted.

14. *Item*, All criminal Decrees past during the Troubles, sen the said 15th Day of *June* 1567, wherewith the said Persons, or any of them, finds themselves grieved or injured, shall be releivit be the Judges ordinars, Givers of the Decrees; and the Parties, upon their Supplication, shall be hard, to propone ony lawfull Defence that they might have used the Tyme of Deduction of the Procefs, provyding they intend their Precepts and Supplications for that Cause, within six Moneths after the Date heirof.

15. *Item*, As for the Fruites or moveable Goods aither pertaining to the King or his Subjects, tane frae Persons professing his Obedience, sen the 15th Day of *June*, 1567, preceeding the penult Day of *July* last bypast, against the Partie with whom they then stood in Controversie and Debaitt; because the Matter is of sic Weight and Importance, it is accorded, the same being moved to the Queen of *England*, that howsoever she shall devyse and counsell thereanent, the Regent shall performe, fulfill and observe the same with Consent of Parliament.

16. The Rents, Feu-fermes, and Maills of the Lands of *Pendreith*, and the Third of the Benefice of *Duffus* in *Murray*, being a Pairt of our soveraigne Lord's Propertie intronnetted with and uptaken be my Lord *Huntly*, or ony in his Name, in Tyme bygane, is be this Pacification

fication friely remitted and discharged : And as touching the Rents of the Thirds of Benefices, common Kirks and Frier Lands likewise intronnetted with be the said Earl of *Huntlie*, and Lord *John Hamilton*, or ony in their Names, in tyme bygane, the Regent shall make Sute to the Kirk at the General Assembly thereof, to procure a Remit of the Rents sic as may be had, Declaratione being first made be the said Earl and Lord *John*, what is intronnetted with and uptaken in their Names.

17. *Item*, That all Men comprehended under this Pacification, after the Publication thereof, be indifferently received and imbraced as the Remanent of our soveraigne Lord's Lieges over all the Pairts of this Realme ; and that nothing done, or that hes occurred during the Troubles in the said common Cause, or ony thing depending thereupon, be compted as deadly Fead in Judgment, or be ony Exception against Judge, Pairtie, Witness, or otherways.

18. *Item*, That the Aires and Successours of Persons forfaulted, properly comprehended under this Pacification, and now depairted this Lyfe, shall be restored and made lawful to enter be Breeves to their Lands and Possessions, notwithstanding of the Forfaultures led against their Fathers or Predecessors, and as gif they had died at our soveraigne Lord's Faith and Peace, and specially of *John* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, *Gawin* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, *Andrew Hamilton* of *Cochnocht*, *John Hamilton* his Son, and Captain *James Cullayne*.

19. *Item*, That the Captains of Men of War under-written, with the Members of their Companies,

panies, shall be comprehended in this present Pacification, as also all the Soldiers who served under their Charges during the Troubles, and before the last Day of July last bypast, they are to say, Captain *James Bruce*, *John Hamilton* of *Kilbowye* his Lieutenant, *John Robertson* in *Braidewoodside* his Handsenzie, Captain *Thomas Kerr*, *James Arbuthnet* his Lieutenant, Corporall *Jonet* his Handsenzie, *Robert Crawford* and *James Olyphant*.

20. Quhilk haill Articles and Conditions of this present Pacification, accorded to in manner above specified, the King's Commissioners, and also the other Noblemen above-written, solemnly promises and swears the true Intention, faithful Performance and Observation of the same in Tyme coming, in Presence of the Queen of England's Ambassadour. In Faith and witnessing whereof, they have subscriyved this Ratification with their Hands; and his Highness's Commissioners hes delyvered to the said Earl of *Huntlie*, and Lord *John Hamilton*, Commendator foresaid, their Remissions under the King's Great Seal; and the said Lord *John Hamilton* promises on his Honour, that Lord *Claud Hamilton* his Brother shall also approve and subscriyve the Articles and Conditions heirof in all Points.

Subscribed thus :

<i>Argyle,</i>	<i>Ruthven,</i>
<i>Huntlie,</i>	<i>Boyde,</i>
<i>Montrose,</i>	<i>Dumfermline,</i>
<i>Arbroth,</i>	<i>Bellenden.</i>

During

During this Treaty *Gordon* kept close to his Business in the North, still believing his Brother would not abandon the Queen's Interest, and trust to a Man who had never regarded the Law of Conscience or of Honour, who was entirely a Slave to the *English* Court, and the only Man relied upon as fittest to serve their Turn; because having the young King in his Hands, and they had his Mother, it was easy for him to put an End to the old Animosities betwixt the *Stuarts* and *Douglases*; and indeed, next to the Mercy of God, nothing seems to have preserved the *Scots* Prince from being cut off, but *Morton's* Want of Children. It is certain the Royal Family was in a very dangerous Condition: Many of the *English* Ministry at that Time wished our Line extinguished, that some Friend of their own might succeed to the Crown of *England*, and doubted not to accomplish the Design, since they had the Mother, and *Morton* had the Son, as I have already said, who were the only Descendents from *Henry* the Seventh: But neither of them being entirely perswaded of the other's Honesty, each kept their Pledge, to secure their own Game. The *English* over-awed *Morton* and forced him to a servile Compliance with their Measures, by having it in their Power to set the Queen at Liberty; and he on the other Hand, by having the Prince in his Custody, without whose Destruction the Queen's signified nothing, obliged them to assist him upon all Occasions, and when he thought fit, send him large Supplies both of Men and Money. He then to return to *Gordon*:

During

During the Treaty, he understood that the Lord Lovat, the *Forbeses*, and *Mackintosh*, were lying in *Aberdeen*; and remembering his Success at *Brechin*, he resolved once more to owe his good Fortune to the Laziness of his Enemies, and the Darkeness of the Night: And indeed his Victory was very little inferior to that one obtained at the Battle of *Brechin*, the Number of Prisoners being near the same, only here he had the Misfortune to be dangerously wounded.

The Regent, according to his Promise, failed not to come to *Aberdour*, where meeting with *Huntly*, and some more of the defeated Loyalists, he ratified the Treaty by his own Subscription, and earnestly pressed that Earl to make Haste Home, to stop the impetuous Course of his Brother's Arms, for whose Obedience to the King he was now answerable. At the same Time he wrote to most of the Nobility to meet him at *Edinburgh* the 15th Day of *March* following. And thus ended the Month of *February*, fatal to the Queen; for upon the 9th of this Month the Reader may remember how she lost her second Husband, *Anno* 1567, and upon the 8th of *February*, *Anno* 1587, she lost her Head at *Fotheringay*.

In the Beginning of the next Month the *English* Ambassador went to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to assure *Grange* and *Hume* that the Regent would grant them no other Terms than what were given to all the Loyalists in general at the Treaty of *Perth*. This was just forbidding him to yield; for *Grange* could never think of trusting *Morton*, and relying upon the Strength of

of the Castle, doubted not of making a very sure Peace at last : His Answer to Killigrew was very short, and very positive ; *Tho' my Friends have forsaken me, and the Town too, yet will keep this House to the last.* Morton wanted but this one Fort to make him absolute Master of the whole Kingdom ; yet being unwilling to have Recourse to Force, lest it had revived a War which the Treaty had now put an End to, the Earl of *Rothes*, and the Lord *Boyd*, were sent to demand his last Resolution. These were not at all sparing of their Arguments to persuade him to a Compliance, and amongst other Things laid before him *Morton's* vast Interest at the *English* Court, and the Hazards he brought himself into, should an Army from *England* come to that Earl's Assistance. But his Answer differed very little from that he had given before, only adding, " That if *Morton* designed not his Ruin " in more than the Interest of his young King " he might have the Castle, by granting those " Proposals and Conditions he had offered to " his Predecessor the Earl of *Mar* the 28th of " *September* last." But to inform the Reader fully how far *Grange* was in the right in suspecting that the Regent designed his Ruin at any Rate and at the same Time to convince him how heartily the Court of *England* endeavoured to serve him in destroying Queen *Mary's* Interest and most probably for the Reason I have already mentioned in that Paragraph which succeeds the Treaty of *Pert*h : This Answer of the Governor's was given the 3d Day of *March*, and on the 8th an hundred *English* Pioneers entered *Scotland*. From this every Body was satisfied

that *Morton*, even during the Treaty, which he foresaw, would succeed, had been tampering with *England*; for it was impossible otherways to have got *English* Assistance so soon, unless a Man could have posted from *Edinburgh* to *London* and back again in five Days, which will be about 700 Miles; and if that could be done, yet we must allow some Time for his Dispatch at Court, and for the Pioneers who lived at Ease, to fit themselves out for a March. But to return to my Business.

Morton, to shew how well he could still distinguish his old Friends from his new ones, (tho' at last he forgot both) assigned free Quarters to the Pioneers in the City of *Edinburgh*, but posted none of them in the Houses of such as had served at *Leith* before the Abstinence or Truce. On the 11th which was the third Day after their Arrival, they broke Ground upon the Castle-hill, and wrought with some Loss till the 15th, when the Garrison sallied out, and having few to sustain them, beat them from their Trenches. On the 16th a Truce was agreed to for thirteen Days, the Besiegers all that while being employed in preparing Gabions and other necessary implements for carrying on the Siege. This Truce was hardly expired when the *English* Army entered *Scotland*, consisting of 500 Musqueers, and 140 Pikes; these came by Land, their Cannon and other Necessaries for War coming about by Sea; they were commanded by *Drury*, and came upon the following Conditions, which were long before concerted betwixt that General and *Morton*, and consented to by the *English* Queen.

1. " That nor the Regent, nor the General should, without the Consent of one another transact or make any Composition with the Besieged."
2. " That if the Castle should be taken by Storm, the Plate, Jewels, and Household Furniture belonging to the King, the Registers and publick Records of the Nation there kept should all be delivered to the Regent within three Days after the same should be recovered and the rest of the Spoil distributed amongst the Soldiers."
3. " That the Persons within the Castle should be reserved to the Trial of Law, and the Regent should proceed in that Matter by the Advice and Consent of the Queen of England."
4. " That the Regent should maintain the English Forces, and assist them with an handsome Number of Horse and Foot."
5. " That the Regent should give such a Gratuity or Compliment to the Wives and nearest Friends of such English Soldiers as fell in the Service, as the General should think reasonable."
6. " That if any of the great Guns should be rendered unfit for Service, Guns of the same Size and Metal belonging to the Castle should be given to make up the Loss."
7. " That the Castle being taken, the English General should immediately return with his Forces." And
8. " That for the safe Return of the English (the Hazards of War excepted) Hostages should be given to remain in Berwick."

The Hostages were the Masters of *Sempil* and *Ruthven*, *John Cuninghame*, a Son of the Earl of *Glencairn's*, and *George Douglas* Son to the Laird of *Killspindie*. In the mean time the Parliament, which had been called against the last Day of April, met at *Edinburgh*, *Lindsay's* old Bulwarks sheltering them from the Castle, their Business was only to confirm the Treaty of *Perth*. *Chamberlaine*, *Huntly*, &c. and their Dependents were restored to their Estates and Honours, and *Grange* with all those who adhered to him, were forfeited. How well *Morton's* future Conduct and Justice to the *Hamiltons*, and other Loyalists answered the express Meaning of the Treaty and of this Act, will appear plain enough to the Reader before I end these Memoirs.

The 15th of May the Besiegers had finished Battery of about 30 Guns; of these, the English brought (as they called them) a Cannon Royal, 4 single Cannons, 9 gross Culverins, taken from the Scots at the fatal Battle of *Flodden*, and 5 Field Pieces, the rest were brought from *Stirling* by Water. Upon the 17th, being *Trinity Sunday*, about two in the Afternoon they began to play upon the Castle, and fired incessantly till the 22d, at which Time three Fourths of the great Tower, or, (as it was commonly called), *David's Tower*, fell to the Ground, with the whole Tower of the *Portcullis*; at the same Time much of the Fore-wall was battered down, and the greatest Part of the Back-wall which respects the South, and South-west. On the 26th, an Assault was given at both these Places, which began about seven o'Clock in the Morning, and continued till ten in the Forenoon, when the

Enemy were beaten back, with the Loss of
of their Men. The Besieged, however, were
glad to come to a Parley, and the *English* Generals
much against *Morton's* Inclinations, at least
publick, consented to a Truce of two Days.
In this short Time, *Grange* began to think
his Safety and Interest, and again offered to
surrender upon the Terms proposed the 28th
September. *Drury* to save his Men, or because
he would feign a true Concern and Friendship
for the Governor, seemed very well pleased
with the Articles, and allowed them high-
reasonable: But the Regent to weaken the Party
and that he might have a good Title both
Grange's Estate and *Lethington's*, resolved upon
other Methods; and indeed, whatever *Drury*
pretended, it was no hard Task to persuade
him to a Compliance with such Measures, as
once defeated the Loyalists, and enriched the
grand Agent of *England*, *Morton*. But this will
best appear from what follows. For the Gar-
rison being in the mean time divided, and the
Governor finding it impossible to hold out any
longer, privately ordered the Captains, *Cransford*
and *Hume*, to advance in the Night-time
and take Possession of the Castle, lest the *English*
who lay next, had prevented them. And
the Morning, being the 29th of *May*, just
the Truce expired, he came out with his Friends
and yielded himself a Prisoner to *Drury*, upon
a solemn Assurance of being restored to his
State and Liberty by the Queen of *England's*
Intercession; it being in her Power by the third
Article of the Agreement betwixt her General
and *Morton*, to have the Prisoners prosecuted

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Law, or acquitted. *Drury* likewise consented that the Soldiers of the Garrison should march out with Bag and Baggage; but, as an Earnest of what their Master was to expect, they were instantly disarmed, and clapt up in several Prisons; such as *Merchistone*, *Blackness*, &c.

Grange in the Interim staid with his Friends in *Drury's* Quarters, where they were Prisoners at large, and only waited the Queen of England's Letter to *Morton* and her General, for the Performance of those Conditions upon which they had surrendered the Castle. But when these Letters came, to their great Surprise, and *Drury's* eternal Infamy, all the Prisoners were expressly ordered to be delivered up to *Morton*, and used at his Pleasure.

Drury, to conceal his Guilt in this Affair, seemed to obey with great Reluctancy, and marched suddenly back to *Berwick* with his Forces, giving out, all the Way he marched, that *Morton* and *Killigrew* had undermined him *, and perswaded his Mistress, to force him to an Act equally inconsistent with his Honour and his Conscience. *Morton* on the other Hand, to gain Credit to the seeming Quarrel, complained aloud, That the *English* General had promised Conditions of Peace to *Grange* and his Friends, expressly against the first Article of Agreement; which provided, "That neither of them should transact or compound with the Besieged, without the Consent of both".

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But

* *Killigrew* writes to the *English* Council 19th June; "1573
"the Prisoners are not executed, at least the chiefest of them
"I, for my Part, will think and say, that it will greatly
"hinder her Majesty's Service, &c."

But to be brief, the Battle of *Drury-peace* storped most People's Ears, and they were hardly believed even by the most credulous: Every Body foresaw the Drift of this Plot, and could foretel *Grange's* Death; yet no Man appeared his Friend, nor stood up for him, but the furious Lord *Lindsay*, who before had been his mortal Enemy; which made a Gentleman say in publick, "*Morton and Drury* are very cunning, but a blind Man sees their Tricks, alluding to *Lindsay's* violent Humour, and his being purblind, or short sighted. For it was commonly said of him, "That he never saw both his Hands at once, nor his Horses Ears" if he sat upright in the Saddle." But to return to the Regent and his Prisoners.

The Lord *Hume* was sent back to be kept in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld* was clapt up in the Castle of *Blackness*, my Lord *Coldinghame* in the Castle of *Callender*, *Lethington* in the Tolbooth of *Leith*, his Brother in the Castle of *Tantallon*, and *Grange*, with his Brother Sir *James*, *James Mosman*, and *James Cockie* were imprisoned in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*. The four last were on the third of *August* brought out to the Market Cross and hanged upon a Gibbet, their Heads (according to Sentence) being set up upon the Castle Wall. Thus died Sir *William Kirkaldie* of *Grange*, a Man equally famed for his Wisdom and his Courage, honoured in *France*, where he had served as an Officer of Horse, and esteemed at Home for his Bravery against the *English*; particularly for having vanquished the Earl of *Rivers's* Brother in a set Combat betwixt the two Armies of *Scotland*.

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land and England. It was commonly said of him, That he had all the Tenderneſs and Adreſs of a Lover in the Houſe, and all the Fury of a Lion in the Field.—In the Year 1545, he was one of thoſe who moſt barbarouſly murdered Cardinal *Beton* in his own Chamber. In 1564, he was in Rebellion againſt his Queen for her Marriage with *Henry Lord Darnley*. In 1567, he again rebelled againſt his Sovereign, and decoyed her into the Hands of her Enemies at *Carberry-hill*. In 1569, he forſook *Murray*, who had entrusted him with the Government of the Caſtle. In 1570, he murdered *Henry Seton*, and by defending the Executioner of the Faſt, fell off from the whole Party. The mortal Enmity betwixt him and *Morton*, only kept him fixed to the Queen's Intereſt at laſt, and he cannot be properly ſaid to have ſuffered for his Loyalty. To conclude then, no Man was better eſteemed in his Time, and no Man ſeems to have deſerved it leſs. The only probable Reaſon for this Myſtery, ſeems to be, that the Rebels being the then prevailing Party, winked at his Crimes, becauſe he had been ſo long engaged in their Intereſt, done them great Services, and had been truſted by their firſt great Patron *Murray*: His Zeal for the Reformation, (for Men are blind to their own Friends and Faults, and we hourly committed thoſe Exceſſes for which we condemned the Papifts) with too many acquitted him from the Guilt of innocent Blood, in murdering *Beton*, tho' a Churchman *: His Rebelli-

* Being purſued by the Cardinal's Heirs for Aſſythment, and Intromiſſions, he got a Vote of *Murray's* Parliament in his Favour, 16. Aug. 1568, That all was done for the Good of the Country, and ſo no Aſſythment, or Reſtitution due: Upon which he entered his Proteſtation.

bellion concealed the rest, and his Associates when he turned Loyalist, were ashamed to rail at a Man whom they had so long and so often extolled. As soon as *Lethington* was informed of his Death, to prevent *Morton's* Revenge, and avoid an ignominious Exit, he swallowed a large Dose of Poison †. This, however, did not dispatch him so very suddenly as he expected; for *Morton*, either truly moved with his miserable Condition, or designing to save him for the Gallows, (which this last Act deserved) ordered him immediately to be brought from *Leith* to his Lodgings at *Edinburgh*, where, (tho' the Physicians used their utmost Endeavours to recover him) he expired the 3d of *September* *, having outlived his Friend but one Month, and a few Hours. The Government of the Castle the Regent bestowed upon his own Brother, *George Douglas of Parkhead*: The Walls were instantly repaired, and a new Bulwark added, or rather a kind of an Half-Moon. The Civil War being thus brought to an End, most of the Captains, with their Companies, went over to *Sweden* and *Flanders*, where, by their Bravery and good Services, they kept up that Reputation in Arms which has ever been inseparable from those of the *Scottish* Nation. Thus ended the Year 1573.

During the Civil War the Borderers had lived at random, invaded *England*, and robbed their Neighbours without Fear of Punishment. Queen

Elizabeth

† Yes he swallowed it, but not with his Knowledge. It was administered by *Morton's* Procurement, who durst not execute him publicly. See *Camden* and a Letter from *Drayton* 18th *June*, 1573.

* Nay before the 12. of *June*.

Elizabeth had often complained, and sometimes repaid the Injury ; but this established Peace in *Scotland* affording a fit Opportunity, these Freebooters were now to be severely corrected. On the *Scots* Side they were attacked by *Morton*, and on the *English* by Sir *John Forrester*, Warden of the Middle Marches ; so that having no Place of Refuge left, they were forced to pay for their late Extravagancies, and give Hostages to the Regent for their good Behaviour for the future. At this Time Sir *James Hume* of *Col-dinknows* was made Warden of the East Marches, the Lord *Maxwel* Warden of the West Marches, and Sir *John Kirkmichael* of the Middle.

The Regent having now defeated all his Enemies, settled a profound Peace at Home, and contracted a strict Friendship with *England*, employs all his Arts in heaping up vast Sums of Money, no Matter how obtained : And indeed he fleeced the Nation of more Cash than ever any seven Kings of *Scotland* possessed before him. In the first Place, he reduced the young King's Family to a very small Number, and to a yet smaller Allowance. His next Incroachment was upon the Church, which made the loudest Outcry of all ; for having by their own Consent got all the Benefices into his Hands, under a Pretence that for one Third the rest should be punctually and speedily paid when due, which their Collectors had often failed to perform, he appointed commonly but one Preacher for three or four Parishes *, and allowed

* Yea frequently there was but one Minister for five or six Parishes, as appears by the Books yet extant.

ed them but the Tythes of one, which, by the Way, was seldom or never paid without a Composition. The Wards of Marriages, which are accidental Revenues of the Crown, were ever exacted, without the least Abatement; and in every County, nay, almost every Parish of the Kingdom, he kept his secret Pensioners, Agents, or Informers, who drew the unwary into frequent *Præmunires*, and warm Reflexions against himself and the Government, for which they were often fined to the last Farthing of their Estates: These were called by the Vulgar, the *Regent's Interpreters*: And it is to be observed, that all these Payments were made in fine Gold and Silver, and that he would never take off the People's Hands any of his own mixed Money, which he had coined in the Castle of *Dalkeith* during the Regency of his Predecessor.

These were not the only Methods *Morton* took to enrich himself: The Reader may remember how he served the Loyalists of the City of *Edinburgh*, in assigning free Quarters upon them to the *English* Pioneers. That Hardship however was but a small Earnest of what they met with now; for those who had abandoned the City for the young King, and during their Absence, had their Houses plundered and demolished, gave in a long Petition to the Council-board, with a List of all those who staid behind and acknowledged the Queen's Authority, craving Reparation of Damages, according to their own exorbitant Computation. By the Consequence it appears plain enough that *Morton* put this Method into their Heads, and that his Interpreters, as they called them, were the Authors of this

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his List and Petition ; for those complained of were sentenced to pay the last Farthing, which he nevertheless detained in his own Hands, the Plaintiffs all the while not daring to complain of the Injustice, nor the Defendants neither. The Church at the same Time, to keep Pace with this good Regent, obliged every one of these harassed Loyalists, who had declared themselves for the Queen, to stand bare-headed, and clad with Sackcloth, or at the Church-doors, or upon an eminent Seat, erected within the Church for Adulterers, and other Delinquents of that Kind. This by every modest Man was publickly condemned, and did the Clergy very little Service, most People crying out, " They were Protestants, and had fought for the Protestant Religion ; that their Crime was Temporal or Civil, against the King only, and fully pardoned by the Treaty of *Perth* ;" adding too, " That what they had lately paid by way of Damages to the Regent, was a sufficient Penance." And indeed this Action was by all the World attributed only to that endless Malice the too zealous Clergy had conceived against the Queen as a *Roman* Catholick.

Another Shift of the Regent's to bring in Money, was to punish those who eat Flesh in Time of *Lent* ; they were commonly sentenced to Whipping, or publick Penance, such as the Clergy had most illegally imposed upon the Loyalists ; but this was only because he knew they would buy off the Punishment and Disgrace with ready Money. At the same Time no Merchant durst bring Home any Wine from *France* without a Licence ; these Licences ex-
pressly

pressly mentioned the Quantity to be imported, and cost very near as much as the Wine amounted to in *France*. Licences for the Exportation of Corn were sold at the same Rate, insomuch that speaking of a covetous Man, or one that made a Gain out of every Commodity, the People would commonly say, "He's another Regent, God bless him, and turns every thing to the ready Penny." Some Jewels gifted by the Queen * to my Lady *Murray*, he forced by Law from her Husband the Earl of *Argyle* under a Pretence of Regard to the Crown, to which he alledged these did properly belong, and therefore could not be alienated: The Earl said they were impignorated to his Wife for as much as they were really worth; but whether it was so or not, it is certain he was forced to give them up for nothing. All these Means of squeezing Money from the People were nothing, when compared to the Severities of his Justice Courts commonly called *Justice Airts*; there, for every trifling Fault, and Shadow of Guilt, both Rich and Poor were forced to buy Liberty and Impunity at a dear Price: All the old Sores of the Civil Wars (expressly against the Treaty of

Perth)

* They were not gifted, but seized by *Murray*, who made an Act in his own Parliament for his Discharge: And by that Act his Relist pleaded she was not bound to deliver them; so far was she from pretending to have gotten them in Gift from the Queen. The *English* Queen, *Murray*, *Grange*, *Lethington*, and others, shared the Jewels amongst them. *Abab* first killed, and then took Possession. *Elizabeth* took Possession first, and then killed. A Part was pawned with *Drury* the *English* Agent, for 6000 *l. Sterling*. *Argyle* was ordered to find Caution for 10000 *l.* for his Wife's Part, &c.

Perth) were now ripped up, and in a Time of profound Peace, every Man was forced to compound for those Losses his Enemy had sustained during the War. The first of these Courts sat at *Jedburgh*, and the next in *Haddington*, and from thence were removed gradually through the whole Kingdom. They generally kept their Name from the first Town where they commenced, and, from the Partiality of the Judge, *Jedburgh Justice* became a common Phrase to express hard Measure, or illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, it being often alledged that Criminals were here condemned first, and then tried. Whilst the Regent was in this Town, he was informed by some of his Spies, that *John Ormiston*, commonly called *Black John*, was lurking not far off. This Gentleman was reputed *Bothwell's* grand Trustee, and every Body expected now a full and plain Account of King *Henry's* Murder. He was taken by the Laird of *Kirk-michael*, and brought into *Edinburgh*, where, upon the 14th of *September**, he was publicly executed at the Market-cross. His Confession † amounted only to this, " That he was not present when the King was murdered, nor did he know positively who were the Executioners of that Plot ; but that *Bothwell* had once shown him a Letter, subscribed by the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntly*, Secretary *Lethington*, and Sir *James Balfour*, promising their Assistance for that Effect." How far this was

A a true,

* It should be *October*; MDLXXIII. The old MS. has it in *December*.

† We have only one *John Brand* a Minister's Account of this Confession.

true, will in all Appearance continue for ever Mystery ; but *Argyle* being at this Time Chancellor *, and Sir *James* the Regent's first Favourite, the Story was hushed, and slipped thro' the People's Fingers, without any Criticisms or Remarks : He made *Bothwell* privy to the Murder, and so far it was right. In the Month the Earl of *Argyle* died of the Stone and the Lord *Glamis* was preferred to his Post.

In the Month of *July* the Earl of *Huntly* came in to *Edinburgh*, to attend a Law-suit for a very considerable Sum ; but the Regent being bribed by his Adversary, the Earl was confined to the Province of *Galloway*, without any real Cause assigned, or any particular Crime laid to his Charge. Nor was this all ; for he had at the same Time secretly contracted with ——— *Jairden* of *Applegirth* to murder the Earl, which would infallibly have been executed, had not the Baron of *Lochnivar* dived into the Secret and with his Friends preserved him from Danger. This Plot of the Regent's not succeeding the Earl was allowed to go Home in the Month of *November*. And thus ended 1574.

In the Beginning of the next Year, viz. upon the 22d of *January*, 1575, the Duke of *Chastelherault* departed this Life in his Palace of *Hamilton*. He had been Regent of *Scotland* during Queen *Mary's* Minority, and in that great and difficult Post gained the Esteem of all Men.

* *Argyle* seems to have been dead before *John Ormiston* himself ; for the old Memoirs say that he died in *September* and it is certain that the Lord *Glamis* was admitted Chancellor in his Stead, xxiv. *October*, MDLXXIII,

kind, approving himself in all his Actions a good Man, and a true Patriot. He was singularly fam'd for his Tenderneſs to his Friends and Relations, who in Return cloſely followed his Steps, and amidſt a thouſand Dangers ſtood firm for their Country and their Queen, againſt the foreign and domeſtick Enemies of both. He was by Act of Parliament declared Succeſſor to the Throne, if Queen *Mary* died without Iſſue; and this at a Time, not only when Faction prevailed not, but when he had diveſted himſelf of all Authority, delivered up the *Regalia* to her Mother, who was conſtituted Queen Regent, and conſequently was not in a Condition to influence the Members of the Houſe, or biaſs the Judgment of the Nation. But to return to *Morton*.

The richeſt Merchants of the City of *Edinburgh*, who had hitherto eſcaped the Regent's Hands, becauſe they had ſerved againſt the Queen at *Leith*, muſt now come in for a Share with the Loyalists, and are moſt of them clapt up in Priſon for exporting the current Coin of the Kingdom. They had no *Habeas Corpus* to regain their Freedom, and to make up that Deſect in our Conſtitution, were forced to purchaſe the free Air at a very dear Rate. I have already obſerved that all Payments to the Publick were made in fine Gold and Silver, and becauſe his *Dalkeith* Money could not ſerve all the People in the common Way of Buſineſs, new Pieces of the ſame Value and Kind are now coin'd for the Purpoſe. On one Side was to be ſeen the King's Arms, and on the Reverse the Heart and Star, which compoſed his own: Nor was this the on-

ly Mark of Sovereignty which he assumed to himself; for above the Lion Rampant of Scotland, when the Castle of *Edinburgh* was repaired after the late Siege, he ordered his own Coat of Arms to be set up at large, which I presume remains entire to this Hour, and may be yet seen by the Curious.

In the Month of *March*, Lord *John*, and Lord *Claud Hamilton*, came into *Edinburgh*, and at the Palace of *Holyroodhouse* (according to an ancient Custom amongst the *Scots*) delivered a Sword by the Point to the Earl of *Angus*, in Satisfaction for the Death of ——— *Johnston of Westeraw*, who fell by some of the Name of *Hamilton* during the Civil War, and who seems was a Depender upon the Earl.

The next Month *Morton* finding that he had most of the good Money of the Kingdom in his own Hands, and in those of his Friends; that he had repaired all the Castles and Houses of Strength; and that most of his own mixed Money was in the Hands of the Poor only, from whom he would be now obliged to take it back in all Manner of Payments, by an Act of Council cried it down to the intrinsic Value, which was not Half of what they had received it for. This one Act lost him the whole Rabble, and afterwards they served his Ends, it was more by Force than Inclination: "They cried out
" so odiously against him, (says my Author)
" with Execrations and Maledictions, as is
" odious to rehearse."

* The Author says, "against him and his Counsellours."

The Wardens of the *Scottish* and *English* Borders used to have monthly Meetings or Reviews ; and upon the 3d of *May* this Year an Accident happened, which in the Reigns of any of the *Scottish* Kings would probably have ended in a War. Sir *John Kirkmichael*, Warden of our East Marches, met, at a Place called *Redshire*, with Sir *John Forrester*, who was Warden for *England*, to whom he delivered the Prisoners taken on his Side, according to the Custom ; but when he expected *Forrester's* in Return, he was answered by that Gentleman, " Sir, there is enough done for this Day." *Kirkmichael* dissembled his Resentment, and instead of a warm Reply, only insisted upon the Justice of his Plea, and the known Laws of the Borders, till *Forrester* haughtily bid him remember to whom he spoke, for he would let him know that he look'd upon himself as his Superior. Tho' the *Scots* Warden seemed not to understand the Affront, some of his Followers took *Forrester* soundly to Task, and clapt their Hands to their Swords, upon which some *English* Bowmen discharged their Arrows amongst the *Scots*, who being fewer in Number than the Enemy, were forced, after a faint Scuffle, to retire. In their Flight they were met by most of the *Fedburghers*, who were coming to wait upon *Kirkmichael* ; and finding themselves so well reinforced, turned upon the victorious *English*, and chased them into their own Country. In this Skirmish on the *Scots* Side fell the Laird of *Mow*, and three private Men : On the *English* Side were slain, Sir *George Heron*, Keeper of *Riddisdale*, and 24. private Persons, the Warden,

den, Sir *Cuthbert Collingwood*, *Francis Ruffel* Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, *James Ogle*, *Henry Fenwick*, and several others, were taken Prisoners. These were at Night brought to *Jedburgh*, the next Day to *Dalkeith*, and on the third were presented to the Regent at *Edinburgh*. Every Body commended *Kirkmichael's* Modesty and Courage, and knowing that *Forrester* began the Scuffle, expected to have seen him treated as a Disturber of the common Peace ; but instead of that, he and his Friends were received as so many Plenipotentiaries from *England*, maintained at the Regent's Cost, nobly lodged, and allowed to go Home when they pleased. This Civility the *English* Prisoners only looked upon as a Proof of the Regent's Dependence upon their Queen ; and tho' they were by all Men allowed to be the Aggressors, yet they complained aloud of the Injustice done them, and resolved to stay till she should be informed of the pretended Injury. To adjust the Matter, Mr. *Killigrew* comes down her Ambassador ; and the Regent who had all along contributed to bring the *Scottish* Nation under the *English* Yoke, to maintain his Post, and escape that Punishment his Crimes deserved, not only cried *Peccavi*, without a just Cause, and dismissed the Prisoners who deserved an exemplary Punishment, but at the same Time sent *Kirkmichael* up to the *English* Court, to ask that Queen's Pardon for having acted the Part of a good *Scotsman*. All the Nation cried out upon this Action as intolerable ; and it is more than probable, that the *English* Queen had not used *Kirkmichael* handsomely, and sent him speedily back again.

the Scots would have endeavoured to do themselves Right upon the Person of their Regent, who thus shamefully prostituted the Freedom and Independency of their Country, to serve his own private Ends.

The Reader may remember how *Huntly* was served when he came to attend his Law-suit at *Edinburgh*, and how narrowly he escaped Death. That Plot however was managed with some Modesty against him, because the Regent and his Friends would yet pretend to pay some Deference to the Treaty of *Perth*; but now their Malice to the Loyalists appears above Board, and Lord *John Hamilton* is singled out for Slaughter from the Herd. In his Way to *Arbroth*, with a very few Attendants, he was almost surprised by *William Douglas of Lochlevin*, his Brother *George*, the Earl of *Buchan*, the Lord *Lindsey*, and *George Bishop of Murray*, accompanied with five hundred Horse. As soon as he saw them, he easily guessed their Aim, and to secure himself, ordered his Friends and Servants to make the best of their Way, but still to keep in one entire Body, whilst he alone, and without any Attendants, pursued a Road quite different from theirs. This Stratagem saved his Life, for the Assassins soon came up with the main Body, and took them all Prisoners, but finding how they had been imposed upon, soon dismissed them. Lord *John*, in the Interim, was kindly received by — *Learmouth of Darsie*, who manfully defended him, and forced them to retire with Shame after they had besieged his House two Days, and as many Nights. This happened upon the 26th of *July*. On the 30th, they

they bethought themselves, and again returned to besiege the House ; but the *Hamiltons* being by this Time informed of Lord *John's* Danger made what Haste they could to his Relief ; they were about 600 strong, and were resolved to come to Blows ; for besides the *Hamiltons*, came the Earls of *Angus*, *Roths*, and *Errol*, and the Lord *Seaton*. *Roths* however so managed the Matter, that *Douglas* and his Friends marched peaceably Home, and Lord *John* pursued his Journey to *Arbroth*. The *Hamiltons* often complained of this notable Injury, and open Breach of the Treaty ; but I can no where find that *Douglas* was punished, or so much as called to answer for his Offence.

In *August* most of the Gentlemen who had fought for the Queen at *Langside*, especially the *Hamiltons*, were, expressly against the Treaty of *Perth*, and the Act of Parliament, clapt up in several Prisons, and each of them forced to buy a particular Remission for himself, at a very exorbitant Price. The Justice-Courts in the mean Time still went on at the old Rate, and it is almost impossible to repeat the Ways and Means by which Money was wrested and screwed from People of all Degrees and Ranks. Whilst one of these Courts sat at *Dumfries*, where the Regent had a very numerous Attendance, and amongst others was waited upon by Lord *John*, and Lord *Claud Hamiltons*, a great many *English* came to see the Form and Manner of Proceeding against the Borderers, who were all in the Net of *Jefferburgh Justice*, as they termed it, and could not get out without Money. Scarce one Day passed here without an Horse Race. The *English* ge-
nerally

generally foiled the *Scots*, and swept up the Stakes, till having shifted the Scene to *Solway Sands*, they were beaten by Lord *Claud Hamilton*, who rode himself, and upon an Horse some Hands lower than any in the Company.

In November, *Robert Earl of Orkney* was clapt up in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for having sent Letters by one *Patrick Elphinston* to the King of *Denmark*, offering, for a certain Sum of Money, to put him in Possession of the Isles of *Orkney*. This was judged High Treason, and most People expected to have seen this imprudent Earl brought to the Scaffold; but for seven thousand Pounds, which he readily paid down to *Morton*, the Business was hushed, tho' he was not restored to his Freedom. About this Time a new Piece of Gold was coin'd in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, of the Weight of an Ounce, and ordered to be received in all Payments for Twenty Pounds. Thus ended the Year 1575.

In the Beginning of the next, viz. 1576, an Accident happened, which, by a strange Turn, proved to the Advantage of the Parties concerned, and was the first Affair that humbled the imperious Regent, who thought he would have managed it after another Manner. *Alaster Glass*, alias *Maclelland*, born in the County of *Argyle*, and a most notorious Robber, was taken Prisoner within the Bounds of *Athole*, and sentenced to be hanged. The Earl of *Argyle*, informed of the Matter, sends a Letter to the Earl of *Athole*, desiring at once Life and Liberty to the Prisoner, which, upon Hopes of Amendment, was readily granted. *Glass* in the mean Time, in-

insensible of the Favour, as soon as he was restored to his Freedom, gathered together his old Companions, and such as would stand by him in his Rogueries, and enters the Country of *Athole* with Fire and Sword; where meeting with no Opposition, he destroyed every Thing at random, and retired with a very considerable Booty. *Athole* upon this immediately writes to *Argyle*, and complains of the Affront and Injury, desiring that *Glass* might be again put into his Hands, to suffer according to his former Sentence. To this *Argyle* returned no Manner of Answer. *Athole* thereupon musters an Army to do himself Justice, and *Argyle* raises another for his Defence: But as they were ready to come to Blows, the Regent commanded them both to disband their Troops, under the Pain of High Treason, promising to each of them by Letters, at the same Time, to examine the Matter, and to order Restitution to be made to the Party injured. This he believed, as I have already hinted, a lucky Opportunity of making Money, and resolved upon these Methods of accomplishing his Design.

The two Earls were to be charged according to the common Form, under the Pains of Treason, to appear before him, and give in their Answers to such Crimes as were objected against them; and when they came, they were both to be imprisoned.

Athole was to be prosecuted for discharging *Glass* after Sentence, and without any Manner of Punishment for his Crimes.

Argyle was to be prosecuted for gathering to

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This Form of Proceeding against the two Earls was drawn up by one *Macgill*, a Lawyer, whom *Morton* constantly employed in all his Adventures of this Kind. At this Time *Macgill*'s principal Clerk was a *Campbell*, and brought up from his Infancy by some of the Family of *Argyle*, and having over-heard what had past betwixt the Regent and his Master, informed both *Argyle* and *Athole* of the whole Matter, requesting them suddenly to provide for their Safety, and in order thereto, to come to an Agreement amongst themselves, as the surest Way to defeat the dark Contrivances of their Enemy. The Advice was readily embraced, the Earls met Face to Face, all old Quarrels were laid aside, and a more perfect Friendship than ever was contracted betwixt them. *Morton* was soon informed of this friendly Meeting, and was heartily uneasy about it; however, dissembling his Resentment, he summoned them both to appear before the Secret Council, to answer *super inquirendis*; but to add to his Trouble, neither of them obeyed. About the latter End of this Year the Earl of *Huntly* departed this Life. I find nothing else of *Morton* during 1576.

The first Action of the next Year, viz. 1577, succeeded yet worse with the Regent than the Business of *Glasf*. The Queen, it seems, had bestowed upon *Mary Levingston*, (one of her Maids) and her Heirs, a small Portion of Ground. This young Gentlewoman, after the Queen's Banishment, married *John Sempill* of *Baltrees*.
Mor-

Morton finding this Piece of Ground very convenient for his own Use, because it lay contiguous to some Part of his Estate, resolved to reduce the Gift. The Business was brought before the Senators of the College of Justice. *Morton* urged, "That the Crown Lands could not be "alienated;" and *Baltrees* answered, "It was "a plain Deed of Gift under the Great and "Privy Seals, and therefore could not be re "called." The Plaintiff, however, was both Judge and Party, for he sat in Person to brow beat the Judges, and the Defendant was ready to be cast. This notorious Hardship made *Sem* *pill*, in a Rage, openly protest, "that if he lost "the Suit, he should lose his Life too." His Uncle *Adam Whitefoord* of *Milneton* fell into the same violent Passion; for speaking of the Regent's Injustice to his Nephew in this Affair, and alluding to his low Stature, (for *Morton* was a very little Man) amongst other unlucky Expressions, he chanced to say, "*Nero* was a Dwarf "to *Morton*." This imprudent Management of the Uncle and Nephew gave the Regent too great an Advantage over them, and almost brought other People into his Net, who had no Interest in the Business; for being both clapt up it was immediately given out by the Regent's Agents, that they were both hired by *Lord Claud Hamilton* to murder him. The Story at last grew too loud to be hush'd; the Gentlemen were examined, and both denied the Fact. Their Obstinacy however was to be conquered after the good old Way, viz. the Boot, and *Baltrees* being naturally weak, to avoid the Extremities of Pain, confessed every Thing the Regent

gent's Friends thought fit to ask him. This brought in but one Witness, and *Milneton* must be served the same Way. But that Gentleman patiently endured all his Torments, and confessed nothing, which to all the World exposed the Regent's Cruelty and Malice, and sufficiently proved the Weakness of his Nephew's Evidence. *Milneton* was hereupon discharged, and his Nephew sentenced to be hanged: But the knavish Part of the Business being too naked, and the Mystery perfectly unveiled by *Whiteford's* Constancy, the Coward was at last discharged too, and escaped the Halter he had too well merited.

These two Disappointments, (the one coming upon the Heels of the other) in the Affairs of *Glasg* and *Sempill*, quite ruined the scanty Remains of that Reputation the Regent had yet kept up amongst his best Friends. Every Body's Eyes were now opened, and all the Nation saw that as Lord *Claud Hamilton* alone owed his Life and Estate to *Whiteford's* Constancy and Courage, so *Argyle* and *Athole* escaped the same Danger, by *Campbell's* Treachery to *Macgill*. All Men of Estates and Birth thought themselves attacked by these Proceedings, and could not think themselves secure under the Tyranny of such a Government, and such a perfidious Governor; and therefore, to prevent their own Ruin, they were under a Necessity of endeavouring his. He had lost all the Clergy, by having tricked them out of their Benefices, under Pretence of the detaining the Thirds for ready Payments. Nor were the common People better satisfied with his Honesty, upon the Score

of his Justice, and his mixed Money. Add to this his innumerable Oppressions, his Avarice, his repeated Adulteries, his Cruelty, and open Breach of publick Faith : It will be then easy to imagine the whole Kingdom disgusted and united against him as one Man. He was too wise not to foresee the Storm which threatened him, and therefore resolved to shelter himself betimes in a voluntary Retreat.

Upon the 12th of *September* he went to *Stirling*, and on the 15th having called a general Council, where the young King sat in Person, he (*Morton*) rose up, and to the great Surprise of the whole Company, made the following short Speech :

" May it please your Majesty,

" **T**HE Noblemen here present have most of them been Eye Witnesses of those Misfortunes which attended my Predecessors in Office : The Earls of *Murray* and *Lennox* fell by the Hands of your Majesty's Enemies and their late Successor might have felt the same Destiny, had not indulgent Providence removed him by a natural Death, in a very few Months after his Accession to the dangerous Post. The Misfortunes of these great Men taught me rather what to fear, than how to avoid the same Fate ; yet my Duty and Inclination to serve your Majesty, my Affection to my Country, and the Safety of the Protestant Religion, made me blind to all future Events, and engaged me in the mighty Labour. With what Courage, and with how much Industry, I have born this great Burden

" den

“den, and discharged this important Trust,
“will best appear from that profound Peace
“which the Nation now enjoys, the implicate
“Obedience of all the Borderers, and the
“good Condition of your Majesty’s Forts and
“Store-houses. Your Majesty’s early Wisdom,
“which, by God’s Blessing, outstrips your
“Years, has of late taught some People to de-
“spise that Authority which your most faithful
“Servant has hitherto exercised in your Maje-
“sty’s Name, and for your Majesty’s Interest,
“in Hopes of Impunity, when your Majesty
“assumes the Government into your own
“Hands, which now the whole Nation seems
“to wish, and every Body expects with Impa-
“tience. From this Change a new Ministry is
“hoped, and I must confess no Man has so
“much Reason to desire it as myself. I have
“long born the Weight of publick Affairs; I
“have not bettered my private Fortune with
“the Revenue of the Crown; I have enriched
“none of my Friends; I am grown old, sick-
“ly and infirm in the Nation’s Service; yet
“am loaded with Envy, and hourly reproach-
“ed. It is not for these Reasons, but, as I
“have hinted, for your Majesty’s early Wis-
“dom, and great Judgment, and my Age,
“which renders me unfit for so great a Burden,
“that I now desire to be relieved, and here,
“before these worthy Noblemen, humbly beg
“to be discharged of my Office. This Favour
“I hope your Majesty will graciously be pleased
“to grant, if not upon the Score of my past
“Services, yet to humour your affectionate
“Subjects.”

Every Body was surpris'd with this unexpected Speech, and the young King alone seem'd to be least affected with what he had heard. At last, however, he answer'd, " That his Age rendered him wholly unfit to take the Government upon himself; and if he should be prevail'd with to ease the Regent of the Burden, yet he knew not where to fix his Court, for at present he was not satisfied with the Castle of *Stirling*." *Morton* replied, " That the Castle of *Edinburgh* was every Way the fittest Place in the Kingdom for his Majesty's Residence." " But then my Lord, (said he) I must have the Keys deliver'd to such as I shall appoint." These last Words pierc'd the Regent to the Quick; but dissimbling his Uneasiness, he assur'd the King that his Majesty should be obeyed in all Things. " Then my Lord, I will think upon it, (replied the King) and in a Week or two you shall know my Resolution."

The next Morning the Regent return'd to *Edinburgh*; and that very Night the King call'd a Council at *Stirling*. The Day before, *Alexander Areskine* had sent an Express underhand, to acquaint *Athole* and *Argyle* with what had past, and to beg they would not slip the Opportunity of freeing the King, the Nation, and themselves from Tyranny, since *Morton* himself had now put it into their Hands. The Earls need'd but this short Advertisement, and came to *Stirling* just as the Council met. The King receiv'd them very kindly, and assur'd them he reli'd very much upon their Advice in what the Regent had propos'd. *Athole* and *Ar-*

gyle seemed very much surpris'd, pretending they knew nothing of the Matter before; but the King pressing for an Answer, they replied very modestly, "That in Consideration of the Regent's great Services, his Majesty ought to grant his earnest Request, and remove the Burden from his Shoulders, to lay it upon his own." The Advice was too agreeable not to be relished, (for who aspires not to Empire?) but the Difficulty was, how to manage the Matter so as not to disgust *Morton*; for having all the Money of the Kingdom in his own Hands, and all the Castles too, it was by no Means thought safe to disoblige him, or go the shortest Way to Work. The Business was some Hours canvass'd in Council, where the King, tho' then scarce twelve Years old, offered his own Opinion with that Calmness and that Cunning which appeared inseparable from him in all the Actions of his Life. The Result of all was, "That in regard few of the Nobility were present, and the Thing might seem rashly determined, or done by a Club, his Majesty should instantly write to the rest of the Noblemen of the Kingdom to attend him at *Stirling*." *Athole* and *Argyle* in the meantime took Care that these Letters were only sent to such of the Nobility as were *Morton's* Enemies; and the Plot was so secretly managed, and so quickly executed, that before the Regent could find it out, they were all met, and unanimously advis'd the King to take the Government immediately upon himself.

Upon the 10th of *March*, 1578, the Lord *Herries* was sent by the King, with a Letter to

the Regent, then at *Edinburgh*, containing
 “ That his Majesty having seriously taken into
 “ his Consideration that Dislike which most
 “ People had of his Government, and those
 “ Troubles which in all Probability were rea-
 “ dy to fall upon the Kingdom ; he had there-
 “ fore, by the Advice of the greatest Part of
 “ the Nobility, determined to take the Man-
 “ agement of his Affairs into his own Hands
 “ and because Delays might produce many In-
 “ conveniencies, he required him instantly to
 “ send a Declaration in Writing, certifying his
 “ Obedience and Allowance of what was done
 “ and for the future to abstain from his present
 “ Office of Regent.” This Thunder-clap at
 most stunned the Earl. He saw he could no
 longer keep the Government in his own Hands
 and yet found his Ruin began where his Power
 ended. To shift off the Matter therefore, (for
 he repented what he had said at *Stirling*) he
 writes back to his Majesty, “ That he was re-
 “ dy to obey him in all Things, but could not
 “ resign his Office without an ample Discharge
 “ and Remission confirmed by Parliament.” To
 this it was answered, “ That the Discharge re-
 “ quired should in due Time be granted.” But
 at the same Time, (being the 12th of *March*)
 the *Lyon King at Arms*, and his Brethren *Heralds*,
 appeared suddenly at the Market-cross
 of *Edinburgh*, and with great Solemnity pro-
 claimed the young King’s Acceptation of the
 Government, for so they termed it, and the
 Regent’s Dimission. *Morton* assisted (tho’ very
 unwillingly) at the Ceremony ; and to hide his
 Surprise and Discontent, ordered the great Gun

of the Castle to be discharged thrice round, but publickly protested, " That his Dimission should be of no Force nor Effect, nor be deemed good in Law, if the King should substitute another in his Place."

On the 13th, the Senators of the College of Justice were expressly advertised of the Acceptation, and all Letters for the future ordered to be given out in his Majesty's Name only ; the Castle of *Edinburgh* was the same Day summoned to surrender in the King's Name, but the Governor refused to yield. On the 14th, the greatest Part of the Garrison came out to receive some Provisions (resolving to endure a Siege) at the East-port of the City. The Magistrates, whom *Morton* had entirely disoblged in the Business of the *Black List*, resolved to cut off their Retreat to the Castle. Upon which the Garrison fired smartly amongst them, and fought their Way back, but left their Provision behind them. In the Scuffle many were wounded, and one Mr. *Richard Lawson*, a young Gentleman of great Learning, was shot thro' the Head. This Squabble soon taught the young King's Counsellors to pursue new Measures, and go smoothly to Work. Lest therefore they had met with the same Resistance from other Governors of Castles put in by *Morton*, the Discharge and Remission was instantly granted, and all those Clauses assented to, which Fear and Cunning suggested to him as necessary for his Security. Nay so far were they willing to humour him, to twist all the Places of Strength out of his Hands, who was capable of acting the greatest Villainies, and was entirely a Slave to *English* Interests,

that

that all of them solemnly bound themselves under their Hands and Seals, to see his Discharge ratified by Act of Parliament, under the Penalty of five hundred thousand Pounds. Upon this the Castle was surrendered to the Parson of *Campsey*, according to the King's Order, and all the Jewels and other Things belonging to the Crown delivered up at the same Time, conform to an old Inventory.

Morton, whom now we must not call Regent, having thus lost his Teeth and Claws, was no more that formidable Monster which frightened the whole Nation ; but a few Months before, his Power and Cruelty kept the Rabble in Awe ; but now all his Crimes are hourly exposed, the Pulpits rung with his lewd Practices and in the open Streets the Mob huzza'd his Enemies, as the great Restorers of Liberty to the King and People, and as Men who had delivered the whole Kingdom from the Jaws of Destruction. It is certain however that he was not yet sufficiently humbled, and his Adversaries reckoned without their Host. He was not at all dispirited with his Fall, and resolved once more to let them see he had not lost all his Fetches with his Office. It is more than probable too that they roused him up to Mischief, by being too forward against him ; for even when he lay retired at his Castle of *Dalkeith*, which with the Vulgar was commonly called the *Lion's Den*, they pestered him with Messages from the King, which taught him to provide for his own Safety, by too plainly discovering that they aimed at nothing more than his Ruin. The first Message they brought him was, that he had

made his Nephew the Earl of *Angus*, who had no Estate in that Country, Warden of the Borders, and he ought not to take it unkindly, if his Majesty bestowed that Post on one who had an Interest upon the Post. The second was, That because of the King's great Necessities at that Time, and in regard the Treasury was very low, it was expected he would give up the Mint-house into his Majesty's Hands, and advance him a Sum of Money to defray his great Charges, till the Management of the publick Revenue could be looked into, and settled to Advantage. From these Things, as I have hinted, *Morton* could expect nothing but Disgrace and Punishment: To have his Friends turned suddenly out of Office, and his Purse examined, as if the Court meant to make his Stock a Fund to supply those Wants, of which he knew himself the Author, boded no less than the Loss of his Head. His Answer however was very mild, "He was satisfied to give up the Mint, and when his Majesty came to riper Years, to lend him such small Sums as could be desired from a Man of a narrow Fortune, and one who had spent Part of his Estate in repairing his Majesty's Castles, and in maintaining a long War against his Enemies." The Chancellor and the Lord *Herries*, for these were sent with Messages, seemed satisfied with his Answer. But the Chancellor, that Night he returned to *Stirling*, before he could wait upon the King, was accidentally shot thro' the Head, in a Squabble betwixt his and the Earl of *Crawfurd's* Footmen, in the open Streets. His Post was bestowed upon the Earl of *Athole*; so that this Accident only

only removed one Enemy to *Morton*, to make room for another.

Alexander Areskine had not managed his Expresses to *Athole* and *Argyle* so very closely as he imagined he had done; for *Morton* was soon informed of the Contents of his Letter, in which he had called him Tyrant, &c. To repay this Injury therefore, he makes a private Visit to the old Countess of *Mar*, and fairly insinuates to her, that *Alexander* designed to trick his Nephew, her Grandson, out of his Office of Governor or Keeper of *Stirling* Castle. The credulous old Woman believes the Story, and alarms her Friends. The Earl was now twenty Years old, and all of them concluded that his Uncle ought instantly to resign his Post. *Morton* to be sure was of the same Opinion, but told them, that if *Alexander* should suspect their Design, all would be lost, and that the only Way was to surprise him, by being secret in the Con- trivance, and sudden in the Execution. To accomplish the Business, he offered his utmost Assistance, and furnished both Men and Arms. This Plot looked (like the Author) two Ways at once. It is certain he meant no Act of Friendship by it to the Family of *Mar*, and yet more certain that the Executioners of the Project being all his own Creatures, he designed not only to remove his Enemy *Alexander* from his Post, but take the young King Prisoner, and convey him to the Castle of *Lochlevin*, that he might gain rule the Nation with the Assistance of his good Friend the Queen of *England*. Besides the Encouragement he had from the South, he knew that Money was the Sinews of War, and that

all the Coin of the Nation was lodged in his own Hands, so that he did not yet despair of being once more formidably great, and of trampling all his Enemies under his Feet.

All Things being in a Readiness, *Morton* (that he might seem to have no Hand in the Matter, in case it should not succeed) retired to *Dalkeith*, to wait the Event; and on the 20th of *April* his Agents, under the Name of *Mar's* Friends, came softly to the Castle Gate about Six o'Clock in the Morning. The Porter, who suspected no Treachery, was soon knocked down; but within the Gates they found a warmer Reception than they looked for, in so much that they were shamefully repulsed. In the Scuffle many were wounded, amongst whom was *Alexander's* eldest Son, who died in three Days after. One *Areskine*, a young Gentleman descended of the Family of *Mar*, was killed upon the Spot. The Assailants, tho' beaten off, lost not a Man.

The Business made a great Noise; it was told twenty different Ways; and thousands who knew nothing of the Matter, yet believed *Morton* was at the Bottom of the Plot: So very apt we are to suspect those we hate. The *Edinburghers* upon this Account alone, betook themselves to Arms, and offered a Guard of 300 of their ablest Men to wait upon the Lords of the Council who were then at *Edinburgh*) to *Stirling*. But just as they were ready to march, they were informed by a Letter from the King, that it was only a private Quarrel betwixt some Persons of the Family of *Mar*, which he would have removed without any Manner of Noise or Bustle, and there.

therefore desired them to come in a Day or two after, but without Arms, and a too numerous Attendance.

Upon the 3d of *May*, all of them met, and amongst the rest came *Morton*, as if he had understood nothing of the Business. The King received him very kindly, but with such inward Thoughts as Boys do imperious Schoolmasters, and because of his late Office of Regent, allowed him the first Place at the Council-board. The Matter came to this Issue, "That *Mar*, in regard of his Age, should now attend the King's Person, and have the Custody of the Castle; and that his Uncle should be Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, and when he came to Court, have his Table at the King's Charge as formerly." At the same Time a Parliament was summoned to meet at *Edinburgh* the 10th of *July* following. The Councillors again returned to *Edinburgh*, and *Morton* to *Dalkeith*, but having removed his grand Enemy *Alexander* from about the King, he returned privately the very next Day to *Stirling*, where he managed every Thing at his own Pleasure.

Here he remained till the 10th of *July*, when beginning to think that if the People should once see their King abroad, especially in a City where every Man was his Enemy, he would be for ever after a Cypher, and deprived of all Opportunities of coping with his Adversaries: To prevent this, he prevailed with him, or rather indeed commanded the young King to summon

the Parliament to meet at *Stirling* upon the 16th of *July*.

This short Advertisement, and sudden Change of the King's Resolution, very much surprised the Nobility at *Edinburgh*: All of them knew it was *Morton's* Contrivance, and positively resolved to disobey. The City of *Edinburgh* resolved to stand by them, and offered both Men and Money to defend their Cause, complaining aloud, that the King was *Morton's* Prisoner, and they would hazard their Lives in procuring his Liberty. Tho', by the Way, the Nobility knew their Loyalty and Kindness to their Prince was whetted by their Hatred to *Morton*, and that Hatred heartily increased by his removing the Parliament, which obliged the Members to spend their Money out of the City. The Council knew too, that it was a Force put upon the King, and therefore at the Day appointed, instead of going themselves, they sent the Earl of *Montrose*, the Lord *Lindsay*, (whom *Grange's* Death had heartily disgusted) and the Bishop of *Orkney*. These came with the rest into the great Hall of the Castle, where the Parliament was to meet, and amongst the rest heard the King's Speech; but as soon as that was ended, they rose up, and protested, in the Name of the Council, and other Noblemen adhering to them, that what was there past into a Law, should be reputed of no Force or Effect, because of the Absence of so many Members, who could not with Safety attend the Meeting, in regard the same was kept within the Castle, which they judged to be in the Power of their Enemies.

The King was very well pleased with this bold Protestation, but the few Members that were present being *Morton's* Friends, he was forced to dissemble his Thoughts, and commanded the Authors to be forthwith confined to their Lodgings, till he should give further Orders concerning them.

At Night he sent a Letter to *Montrose*, directed to the Chancellor, and desired him to make his Escape early in the Morning, and post to *Edinburgh*. The Earl failed not to obey an Order so very agreeable, but was better pleased with the Commission when he understood the Contents, which were, "That the Chancellor should with all imaginable Secrecy and Hastiness muster what Forces he could for his Relief; for he understood himself to be *Morton's* Prisoner." The same Day arrived Sir *Robert Bowes*, as Ambassador to the young King, from the Queen of *England*, who, after the old manner, was to support *Morton*, and embroil the young Monarch's Affairs as much as his Predecessors in Office had done those of his Mother. *Throgmorton* was too honest*, *Drury* and *Kilgrew* were too well known to be Knaves, and Sir *Robert*, tho' a Stranger to the *Scots*, was thought a very fit Man for so necessary and important a Task.

The City of *Edinburgh* mustered in one entire Body, and again offered to attend the Chancellor and the rest of the Lords of the Privy Council; every Man run to Arms

* *Throckmorton* was dead long before, having been poisoned by *Leicester*, in February, 1572.

and the common Cry was, "*Morton* has sold us to the *English*! He has sold our King to the Persecutor of *Queen Mary*! He is to deliver up the King to *Queen Elizabeth*! He gets a better Price for the King than he did for *Northumberland*!" These Things were every where proclaimed aloud by the Mob, and at the same Time was hawked about a very shrewd Invective against him in Rhime, called *Captain Cullayne's last Advice to his Wife*. To improve this good Humour in the Rabble to Advantage, a Declaration was published by the Chancellor, and the rest of the Counsellors, bearing,

"THAT his Majesty having assumed the Government in his own Person, because of the great Enormities committed during the Earl of *Morton's* Regency, he had appointed the Council to reside at *Edinburgh*, for the better Administration of Justice. That by the Care they had taken of Affairs, all Things had gone well and peaceably, till the said Earl, out of his ambitious Desire to rule, did suborn some wicked Instruments to surprise the King's House and Person at *Stirling*. Of which seditious Enterprize, altho' he did pretend Ignorance, yet the Progress of his Actions continually since that Time, did too well testify that he was the chief Plotter of that Business; for after his coming to Court, he had disordered all Things, thralling the King so far, that none of his best Subjects could have free Access unto him, and usurping the Jurisdiction of his Majesty's ordinary Council, in

“ translating the Parliament from *Edinburgh*
 “ the principal City of the Realm, to the Castle
 “ of *Stirling*. Likeas, to bear out his wicked
 “ and violent Designs, he had of late presumed
 “ to levy Soldiers at the King’s Cost and Charge,
 “ intending thereby to maintain his usurped
 “ Authority, and oppress his Majesty’s most o-
 “ bedient and loyal Subjects. In Consideration
 “ of which Abuses, and lest these notorious Pre-
 “ sumptions should, by their continued Pati-
 “ ence, grow to a further Height, they had
 “ resolved, laying aside all Difficulties, to with-
 “ stand the Violences practised by him, under
 “ the Title of the King’s Authority, and to ha-
 “ zard their Goods, Lives and Lands, for the
 “ Delivery of his Majesty’s Person out of his
 “ Thralldom: Protesting that the Inconvenien-
 “ cies which should ensue upon the present
 “ Troubles, should not be imputed to them, in
 “ as much as they were forced into it, for their
 “ own just and necessary Defence, the Restitu-
 “ tion of their native Prince to Liberty, and
 “ the delivering of the Church and Common-
 “ wealth from the Tyranny of a Man who e-
 “ ver sought, and still did seek, the Ruin and
 “ Overthrow of both.”

As soon as this Declaration was published, all
 the Country People drew to Arms; Soldiers
 were listed on both Sides, and Proclamations
 sent to the Sherifffdoms of *Edinburgh*, *Hadding-*
ton, *Linlithgow*, *Clackmannan*, *Kinross*, *Perth*,
Fife, *Forfar*, *Lanerk*, *Dumbarton*, and to the
 Bailliaries of *Kyle* and *Cunningham*, to be in
 Readiness, with 15 Days Provision, to follow

the King or his Lieutenants, upon six Hours Warning, whither they should be directed.

Besides these Proclamations sent from *Stirling*, a Commission of Lieutenandry was given to the Earl of *Angus*, with Orders to pursue the Rebels with the utmost Rigour for usurping the King's Name and Authority. A strict Command was at the same Time sent to the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athole*, to remove from *Edinburgh* in 24 Hours, and to retire to their respective Dwellings, under the Pain of High Treason. With this Express the Herauld brought another to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, requiring them forthwith to apprehend all such as had taken Arms within the Liberties, and to suffer no Man in Arms to enter the same, unless sent by the King. The Mayor hereupon made what Haste he could to *Stirling*, to excuse what was past, protesting, " That it was not in the Power of the Magistrates to suppress those who were in Arms for the Council, and hoped his Majesty would not, upon that Account, entertain a bad Opinion of his ancient and loyal City, since at present they firmly believed they acted for his Majesty's Interest." The King, who did nothing but what *Morton* commanded him, sent the Mayor, for this Apology, a close Prisoner to the Castle of *Down*.

Tho' *Morton's* Nephew (*Angus*) was made Lieutenant, tho' so many Proclamations were sent out, tho' *Argyle* and *Athole* were charged to retire to the North, and tho' the Mayor of *Edinburgh* was imprisoned, yet no Man obeyed; there came not twenty Men in Arms, excepting such as fought for Pay, to the King's, or rather

Morton's, Assistance ; whilst on the other Hand they flocked to *Edinburgh* upon their own Charges, from all Quarters of the Country, to oppose *Morton's* mercenary Troops.

These Things put the treacherous Earl to his last Shifts ; but having the young King in his Hands, he resolved to make him serve his Turn at any Rate, and a new Proclamation was immediately put out, commanding all those who were at present assembled in Arms to return to their respective Houses, within the Space of six Hours, promising a full Pardon to such as obeyed. But this Proclamation succeeded no better than the rest.

A new one therefore is published, more surprising than any of the former, in which his Majesty informed all his loving Subjects, "That
 " it was positively his own Desire to remain at
 " *Stirling*, and solemnly called the Almighty
 " God to Witness, that the Chancellor, nor any
 " ny of the Lords of the Council, had any
 " such Warrant from him, by Word or Writing,
 " for levying of Men, as he or they pretended ;
 " and therefore willed all his good
 " Subjects to live in Peace, and not be misled by
 " such false Informations." All the World knew the King had sent an express Order to the contrary by the Earl of *Montrose* ; and here indeed *Morton* appeared in his true Colours, for this Act convinced every Man how heartily he rid the young King, when, to serve his own Turn, he obliged him, tho' the Word of a Prince should be esteemed sacred, to call God to witness what was not just. But he to whom Rebellion, Murder, Sacrilege, Oppres-

sion,

sion, and frequent Adulteries, appear no more as so many Sins, may easily leap over the petty Guilt of forcing another Man to act and speak expressly against his own Conscience; for it is most certain the King endangered his Life, if he had refused a blind Obedience to his Commands.

The Counsellors finding themselves in a Condition to take the Field, marched out of *Edinburgh* 5000 strong, and encamped at *Linlithgow*. From thence they sent Commissioners to *Stirling*, requiring *Morton* to set the King at Liberty, and to suffer him to come to the Castle or City of *Edinburgh*, upon which they would instantly disband their Troops. But this was rejected as insolent. The next Morning therefore they begun their March by Day-light, and stopped at *Falkirk*. *Angus* marched out from *Stirling* much about the same Time, and halted at *Callendar*. Sir *Robert Bowes* in the mean time was not idle; he saw his Friend *Morton* in great Distress, for his Army was not half so numerous as the Chancellor's, and did all he could to bring the Business to a Close without Blows. This Mediation for an Agreement lasted two Days; and the Counsellors finding that they must expect an Army from *England*, under the Pretence of assisting the young King, whom Queen *Elizabeth* had hitherto pretended to protect, and knowing too how heartily the Nation smarted under the Losses of the late War, the Matter came to this Issue, that both Parties should disband their Forces, and before *May* next, in a grand Council to be held at *Stirling*, their Causes of Complaint should be examined and

and removed. The Articles were drawn up, and signed by the King, to which both Sides assented, and were as followeth :

“ **I**N the first Place, we will, that all Hostility shall, without Delay, cease, and all Forces be dissolved, saving some Bands of Horsemen already retained upon our Charges, who shall only be employed for the Quietness of our Borders, and others our Affairs, and not against the Lords presently convened at *Falkirk*, or any of their Adherents in this late Action.

“ 2. And forsuameikle as we understand and are throwly perswaded, that the Lords convened with the Chancellor took Arms onlie for the tender Affection they bure to us, we allow and accept of the same sen the tenth Day of *June* last bypast, as good Service done.

“ 3. We will, that the Earl of *Argyle* shall remain with our Council, and within our Castle of *Stirling*, with the like Number as other Noblemen are lodged therein, saving the Earl of *Mar*, great Captain thereof; and the Earl of *Athole* shall have the like Access.

“ 4. We will also, that the Earl of *Montrose* and Lord *Lindsay* be added to our Council, and that a Third Person be nominate when we think Time.

“ 5. We will farther add eight Noblemen to our Council, be the Advice of the Queen of *England*, that be their Advice, betwixt and the first Day of *May* next to come, we may

" take Order for the Reconciliation of our Nobilitie.

" 6. We will, that the present Keepers and Captains of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and *Dumbarton* Castle, shall enjoy their Offices to that Day.

" 7. We will, that the Earl of *Angus* shall renounce his Office of Lieutenandry. And,

" We will, that all Prisoners, Horses and Armour taken at this Meeting, be forthwith restored."

From these Conditions, which were commonly called *the Articles of Stirling*, the Reader will easily see how much the Parties were afraid of one another. The Chancellor had Justice on his Side, and the strongest Army; but *Morton* had all the Money of the Kingdom, and because of his slavish Dependence upon *England*, was sure of *Elizabeth's* Assistance. Some Weeks after this, the Lord *Ruthven* was made Lieutenant of the Borders, and Lord *Herries* Warden of the West Marches. *Bowes* went suddenly back to *England* after the Articles were signed. Nothing else of Moment happened in 1578.

In *April* 1579, most of the Nobility met at *Stirling*, to perfect the intended Agreement; the Business seemingly succeeded; and to avoid Blows, every Man put the best Face upon it the Affair could well bear. *Morton*, as a Proof of his Sincerity, invited the Chancellor, and several others, to as splendid a Banquet as the Place could afford. He drunk them hard enough, and as the Story runs, when they were more than flustered with their Wine, he took the Opportunity

nity of conveying a deadly Poison into the Chancellor's Glass, which in four Days Time sent him into another World. Many believed that he was poisoned by the old Countess of *Mar*, but this Report was not long-liv'd. However it was, the Chancellor's Friends were so heartily perswaded of *Morton's* Guilt, that they sent immediately for Physicians and Surgeons from *Edinburgh*, to open the Body, which lay at *Kincardine*. *Morton*, to remove all Manner of Suspicion, had these examined upon Oath before the Council; and tho' they solemnly declared that they found no Marks of Poison, or of any other Violence done to the Deceased †, yet they, the Chancellor's Friends, formally entered a Protestation, "That the Trial of the Council should not prejudice the criminal Pursuit which they intended before the Justice-General." It is certain that *Morton* had too many real Crimes to answer for, yet still he had the Misfortune to be charged with those of which he was truly innocent. The Death of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was openly laid at his Door, because, during that Prelate's Forfeiture he enjoyed the Bishoprick, and after his untimely End, made his own Chaplain Titular-Bishop, but kept still the greatest Part of the Revenue to himself; and the Manner of the Chancellor's Death was by many looked upon as downright Scandal. *Morton* and he were still at odds, and that was enough in all Conscience to support the Belief of his Guilt, with those

† Nay two of them asserted he had got Poison; the third obstinately maintained the contrary.

those whom his Avarice and Cruelty had disgusted.

The Chancellor's Death however gave *Morton* a new Hand for the Stake of Power, which he play'd with all the Art and Cunning of a thorough Gamester. The *Hamiltons* were now the only Enemies he had most Reason to be afraid of; they were a powerful Family, and had been ill used by him upon all Occasions, both before, and during the Time of his Regency; without accomplishing their Destruction, therefore, he could never think himself secure. The *English* Ambassador bugbear'd the Court with his Mistress's Friendship for *Morton*; the Council was once more at his Devotion, and the young King his Prisoner. In short, all Things answered his Wishes, and the Opportunity was not to be lost.

To begin the Matter, the old Countess of *Mar*, and her Grandson the young Earl, daily laid before the unwary young King, *Morton's* great Services, the mighty Number of Enemies he had withstood in his Majesty's Quarrel, especially the *Hamiltons*, who, by being declared next Heirs to the Crown, had espoused the Mother's Cause, only in Hopes to destroy the Son, and to oppose the Union of the two Kingdoms, which manifestly endangered their Pretensions; that they were too powerful, and the Royal Family could never be safe, unless some Way or other were speedily found out to humble them.

The Royal Youth thus seasoned and prepared, *Morton* comes in to give the finishing Stroke, and push the Matter Home. The Method to destroy them, he said, was both safe and obvious,

ous, and his Majesty had Law and Justice on his Side ; they were concerned in the Murder of two of his Regents, and the Sentence of Forfeiture pronounced against them upon that Account stood yet firm and good, since it could never be repealed but by Act of Parliament.

The Business was proposed in Council, and agreed to : The only Dispute was, whether or not the *Hamiltons* should be summoned to answer, and a formal Process commenced against them. But a Summons being a fair Warning to provide for their Safety by Flight, that was against all Law and Reason, by *Morton's* Interest, over-ruled. The next Difficulty was, to whom the Commission should be given to apprehend them ? But that was soon removed too for *Morton* being satisfied to make one in the Number, his Friends readily offered their Assistance.

The Commission then was given to *Morton Mar*, and *Eglinton*, and to the Lords *Ruthven Cathcart* and *Boyd*. To facilitate the Execution of the Project, *Morton* had hired Soldiers before-hand, and kept them dispersed in the Country upon Half-pay, so that the Army was ready to march upon six Hours Warning.

Tho' the Business was carried on with great Secrecy and Expedition, yet Lord *John*, and Lord *Claud Hamilton*, were fully informed of the Design against them. They knew that Innocence was but a weak Plea, when *Morton* was Judge of the Cause, and, to avoid the Storm instantly abandoned their Houses. Lord *John* fled on Foot in a Seaman's Habit into *England* and from thence made his Escape into *France*

when

where he was kindly entertained by *James* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, then Ambassador at the French Court for Queen *Mary*. Lord *Claud* tarried some Time in *Scotland*, but being narrowly looked for, fled into *England*, and lived some Time privately with a Friend of the late Earl of *Northumberland's*. Queen *Elizabeth* knew well enough where he staid, but lest the World should know that her Ambassador *Bowes* had an Hand in his Banishment, and the Injustice done him, or that she contributed to the Injury, because the *Hamiltons* had constantly opposed her Designs to divide, then rule the *Scots*, she thought fit to wink at it. Some Time after, the Lord *John* too came over from *France*, and enjoyed the same Benefit till the Year 1585, at which Time he returned to *Scotland*. But to the Point :

Morton, *Mar*, *Angus*, &c. marched on with their Army, and besieged the Castles of *Hamilton* and *Draffen*: The last of these surrendered upon the first Summons, and the other, after two Days Resistance, yielded upon Discretion. The Garrison was hereupon led to *Stirling*, with their Hands tied behind their Backs, where their Captain, *Arthur Hamilton* of *Murrow* was publickly hanged upon a Gibbet.

Thus far all went well, but the Plot being not deep enough to affect the Earl of *Arran*, the Elder Brother of the two banished Lords, a Complaint must be preferred in his and the King's Advocate's Name, (for some Form was thought necessary to destroy this great Family) bearing, " That the said Earl was detained a close Prisoner by his two Brothers, and bar-

“red the Benefit of Succession; his Sherifffdom
 “of *Lanerk*, and what not, usurped, and vio-
 “lently possessed by the Lords *John* and
 “*Claud* ;” with a great deal more to the same
 “Tune.”

Upon this Complaint, in which *Arran* was
 no ways concerned, a Party is sent to demand
 the House in the King's Name, and to set the
 Earl at Liberty. His Servants made what De-
 fence they could to keep their Master out of the
 Hands of his Enemies, but at last were forced
 to yield. The Earl, instead of being set free,
 was taken Prisoner, and, with his aged Mother
 the Dutcheß of *Chastelherault*, was carried vio-
 lently to *Linlithgow*, and there confined under
 the Custody of Captain *Lambie*, who was known
 to be a most inveterate Enemy to all the Name
 of *Hamilton*.

The Resistance (which was the main Thing
 in the Plot) made by the Earl of *Arran*'s Keep-
 ers, was expounded the Earl's proper Fact and
 Deed : All his Castles and Houses were demo-
 lished : He was hereupon forfeited, for they had
 no other Way to reach the Estate ; and some
 Time after, Captain *James Stuart* was dignified
 with his Title of Earl of *Arran* † : Tho' all
 this while the Reader is to know that this Earl
 was *non compos mentis*, and could not come un-
 der the Lash of any Law, much less for Crimes
 he never had committed.

About this Time Queen *Mary* sent her Secre-
 tary Monsieur *Noe*, with a Letter to the young
 King

† After the Forfeiture of *Arran*'s Brethren, &c. being
 I suppose, the then next Kinsman, he was first Tutor to the
 Earl, who was furious; and afterwards was made Earl.

King, some Jewels of Value, and a Vest embroidered with her own Hands : But the Letter being directed, *To our loving Son James Prince of Scotland, Morton*, upon that Score, managed the Matter so, that *Noe* was sent back with Letter, Jewels, Vest, and what else his unfortunate Mistress had sent, without so much as being permitted to see the King's Face. This was in the Month of *June*.

Upon the 4th of *July* the Chancellor was buried in the Church of *St. Giles* at *Edinburgh*.

The rest of the Summer was for the most Part spent in harassing the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*, and in obliging them to give Surety not to supply the two fugitive Lords, and to appear before the Council when called. These Things were likely at last to put the Kingdom into a Ferment ; too many People were concerned for *Queen Mary*, to digest easily this open Breach of the Treaty of *Perth* : But to salve up the Matter, *Morton* had a Declaration ready, which was published in the King's Name, containing, " That what was done in the " Pursuit, was only for the Murder of his Father and Regents, unto which, both in Conscience and Honour, he was tied, and that " no Article of the Treaty should be infringed, " or called in question." About this Time *Colin Earl of Argyle* was preferred to be Chancellor.

In the Month of *September*, *Walter Turnbull* and *William Scot* were taken up in *Edinburgh*, for writing a Satyr against *Morton*, enumerating his Crimes, and particularly insisting upon the late Chancellor's Murder. *Turnbull*, it seems,

was a famous Schoolmaster, and both he and *Scot*, for their good Humour and Knack of Rhyming, in great Vogue both with the Gentry and common People. Every Body interested themselves in their Behalf; and when they were carried to *Stirling* to be tried, the King was pestered with Petitions for their Liberty. *Morton*, on the other Hand, for he never knew how to forgive any Enemy, managed the Process with so much Heat and Concern, and so much overawed the young King's Inclinations to Mercy, that upon the first Day of *October* they were both publickly hanged. But this, instead of advancing his Security, hastened his Ruin.

Some People alledged that the King was never inclined to pardon these two Poets, because *Scot* one Day, before some Company, reading the *Stirling* Articles, suddenly stopped when he was but Half-way, and being desired to go on, said, "We will what *Morton* wills, and that is all." "Nay, said *Turnbull*, add the Queen of *England* too." The Satyr here was obvious enough to any Man who had read the Articles; and indeed it is not unlikely that this Jest helped the unfortunate Authors to the Gallows.

Morton, to remove, at least lessen the Odium this Business had brought upon him, and if possible, to regain the Affections of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, for now his chief Enemies were dead or banished, caused (for the Act was his, tho' done in the King's Name) summon the Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh* the 20th of the same Month, viz. *October*. About this Time *Bowes*

return-

returned to *England*, and *Monsieur d'Aubigne* arrived from *France*.

This Gentleman's Name was *Aymie Stuart*, a Son of the antient Family of *Lenox*, and Cousin-german to King *Henry*, King *James's* Father, sent over by the Family of *Guise*, with the *Scots* Queen's Approbation to stay at Court, tho' he was openly to pretend that he came only to pay a short Visit to the young King, and speedily to return to *France*. When he landed at *Leith*, the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* went down to receive him as the Relation of their Prince, and gave him a most splendid Entertainment in the City. The next Day several Gentlemen of Note, and the most considerable Citizens, waited upon him to *Stirling*, where he was so very graciously received by the King, that in a few Days Time he was created Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grand-Uncle, who possessed the Title, being, in Place thereof, created Earl of *March*; but because something was necessary to maintain and support his new Dignity, the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, which fell by Lord *John Hamilton's* Forfeiture, was bestowed upon him at the same Time.

The Parliament was adjourned to the 5th of *November*, and the Day before the King made his publick Entry into *Edinburgh*, it was observed that *Lenox*, who apace wormed *Morton* out of Favour with the King, walked upon his Majesty's Right-hand, and alone talked to him all the Time of the Show, which lasted above an Hour.

At some Distance from the West-port, the King alighted from his Horse, and a stately Ca-

nopy of Purple-coloured Velvet being held over his Head, he received the Magistrates of the City, who came bare-headed all the Way without the Gate. Within the Gate stood *Solomon*, with a numerous Train, habited after the *Jewish*, or rather the *Roman* Manner, with the two Women contending for the Child, &c.

As his Majesty ascended the Street called the *West-bow*, there hung down from the Arch of the old Gate, a large Globe of polished Brass, out of which a little Boy, clad like a *Cupid*, descended in a Machine, and presented him with the Keys of the City, all made of massy Silver, and very artificially wrought, an excellent Consort of Musick all the while accompanying the Action.

When he came down the High-street, as far as the Tolbooth, *Peace*, *Plenty*, and *Justice* met him, and harangued him in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Scottish*. Opposite to the great Church stood *Religion*, who addressed him in the *Hebrew* Tongue; upon which he was pleased to enter the Church, where one Mr. *Lawson* made a learned Discourse in Behalf of the Reformed.

When his Majesty came out, *Bacchus* sat mounted on a gilded Hoghead at the Market-cross, distributing Wine in large Bumpers, the Trumpets all the while sounding, and the People crying, "God save the King." At the East Gate was erected his Majesty's Nativity, and above that the Genealogies of all the *Scots* Kings, from *Fergus* the first. All the Windows were hung with Pictures and rich Tapestry, the Streets strowed with Flowers, and the Cannon

firing

ring all the while from the Castle, till his Majesty reached his Palace of *Holyroodhouse*.

This Pomp and Ceremony did not prove very diverting to *Morton*; the City's Affection for their young King spoke them fond of their new Governor, and sufficiently sensible of those Hardships they had suffered under the old one. Nor was it in the Faces of the Citizens alone that *Morton* could read his declining Greatness, for even in the Parliament, which met the next Day after the King's publick Entry, every Thing he proposed, tho' in itself just and reasonable, was openly slighted.

All this he believed entirely owing to *Lenox's* Interest with the King, and twenty several Ways attempted to undermine him. It was presently buzz'd about then, "That *Lenox* being of the *Romish* Faith, his only Business in *Scotland* was to pervert the King from the established Religion." It was given out too, to amuse the Rabble, "That in *St. Andrews*, *Dumfries*, and *Paisley*, some Priests had publickly said Mass, made a Jest of the Reformation, and openly boasted that the King would favour their Cause." This Plot, of all the rest, was likeliest to succeed: But tho' the Clergy took it up, and thundered it a Day or two from the Pulpits, they civilly dropped it again, when they understood *Morton's* Interest was at the Bottom of the Story. These good Men remembered his Kindness in taking their Benefices off their Hands in 1574, and resolved not to serve his Turn so effectually against the Son as they had done against the Mother.

This Project not succeeding, the King growing

ing still colder towards him, and finding his Interest wholly sunk in *Scotland*, he resolved to apply himself to the *English* Court, where his slavish Dependence, and the little Regard he had shown for his Country, had procured him too many Friends. His Design was to have betrayed the young King into Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands, and then with the Assistance of an *English* Army, once more to have brought his Enemies under his Power.

He had not however carried on this Business with that Secrecy he imagined. Some Body or other proved too quick-sighted for him, and the Design immediately took Air. It was presently rumoured, nay believed, over the whole Kingdom, "That *Morton* kept a secret Correspondence with Queen *Elizabeth*, and designed to put the young King into her Hands, to call in an *English* Army, and, like another *Baliol*, to possess the Kingdom as a Reward of his Treachery."

Morton, as if it had been all a Sham, complained in Council of this mighty Hardship, and desired he might be brought to a Trial, to remove the unjust Scandal: But the King and Council knew too well that a Business of this Nature was not to be easily proved, and assured him they looked upon it as a Fiction, and the meer Contrivance of his Enemies; upon which lest a Sense of his own Danger should make him desperate, a Proclamation was immediately put out, "Against Lies, and Dispersers of Tales tending to create Discord betwixt his Majesty and any of his Nobility."

This

This Proclamation was only a Blind to keep *Morton* from discovering the Uneasiness of the Court ; for at the same Time, to prevent any sudden Attempt against his Majesty's Person, it was moved in Council, that an High Chamberlain (and no Man had born that Office for many Years before) should be appointed to attend his Majesty at all Times, with Twenty-four Persons under his Command, all of them the Sons of Barons or of Noblemen. The Proposal was unanimously approved, and the Earl of *Lenox*, *Morton's* chief Enemy, honoured with the Post. *Alexander Areskine*, Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, whom *Morton* had disobliged to the last Degree, was preferred to be his Deputy. The twenty-four were the Sons of the Earls of *Marshall*, *Roths*, and *Cassilis* ; the Sons of Lord *Lindsay*, *Levingston*, *Elphinston*, *Herries* and *Ogilvie* ; the Lairds of *Coldinknows*, *Bargeny*, *Bomby*, *Kilsyth*, *Minto*, *Ballenden*, *Strathurd*, and *Moncreif*, *Mark Ker* of *Preston-Grange*, *George Dowglas* of *Rumgawy*, Captain *James Stuart*, Son to the Lord *Ochiltree*, *Alexander Ruthven*, the Prior of *Coldingham*, the Commendator of *Inchaffery*, *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick*, and *James Chisholme*. To these were added, the Lord *Maxwell*, and the Lairds of *Cessford*, *Ardkinlas*, *Caprington*, *Manderston*, and *Caverstone*, who were not to give a constant Attendance, but when particularly called by the Lord High Chamberlain.

Morton easily saw through this thin Disguise, and guessed they were but too well informed of his Designs ; but because, as I have hinted, he had no Interest at Home, he was forced to seem easy,

easy, and waited constantly upon the King and Council, as if he had not at all mistrusted them, or believed himself suspected by them. He saw himself a Burden to his Country, shunned by the Good, despised by the Brave, and pitied by no Man; yet in this low Ebb, neither his Courage, nor his constant Inclinations to Mischief forsook him, and his Correspondence with the Court of *England* went on at the old Rate. The Story, however, was almost hushed, when Sir *Robert Bowes* came down again Queen *Elizabeth's* Ambassador: His Arrival gave a new Life to the decayed Rumour, and every Body cried out, "That *Morton* and he had made up the Plot at *Stirling*; that *Bowes's* sudden Departure from thence, was only to concert the Measures for the Execution of the Design with his Mistress; and that his Return now was to manage the Business by Word of Mouth, because *Morton* was suspected, and it was not safe to write to him, lest the *Scottish* Court should intercept the Letters, or the Messenger should betray his Trust."

These Things however could only be guessed at, but were no longer looked upon as bare Conjecture, when *Bowes's* Errand came to be known which was, "to charge the Earl of *Lenox* with some Practices against the Peace established betwixt the two Kingdoms." Then indeed it was too obvious what *Morton's* Interest amounted to in the *English* Court, and what underhand Dealings were betwixt him and the Ministers of that Country. The Council in the mean time fairly questioned *Bowes's* Commission, and desired him to produce that, and

Instructions. If he had any, or what they were, is uncertain, but he refused to show either of them, and was sent back without being permitted to come to Court.

This confirmed every Body in what before was but shrewdly suspected, and *Alexander Hume of North-berwick* is instantly dispatched to *England*, to inform *Queen Elizabeth* why *Bowes* was denied Audience, and to know what those Crimes were of which *Lenox* was to have been accused. But to be short, *Hume* was denied Access to that Queen, and remitted to her Treasurer for Satisfaction, who told him, "That his Mistress could not but resent the Affront put upon her Ambassador, and be sorry to see that her Cousin, the King of Scots, should be misled by *Lenox*, who was a Subject of *France*, a Papist, married to a French Woman, and who would endeavour to destroy the Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms;" and a great deal more to the same Purpose; adding, as if by Chance, that "there were more dangerous Plots in Hand than the Scots King was aware of."

Upon *Hume's* Return, and the *English* Queen refusing to see him, the Court grew more jealous than ever of *Morton*; and the last Sentence of the Treasurer's Speech, which he dropt only to insinuate a French Plot against the King, was expounded after a quite different Manner, and taken to be nothing but the Plot managed by *Morton*, to betray the young King's Person into the Hands of the *English*. This was too plain, or at least too plainly believed, not to produce fatal Consequences to the Person guilty, or

or suspected to be so, and the Nobility could neither think the King, themselves, nor the Nation secure, without his Destruction. His Crimes, it is true, afforded too many Weapons to destroy him, but his Remission shielded him from most of these ; and the Business of the dangerous Correspondence with the Court of *England* was not to be easily proved, at least without a Breach of the Peace, which was by no Means safe. The Differences of Religion opposed a League with *France*, and the Miseries of the late Civil War made it not very convenient to come to Blows with *England*. Besides, a tender Regard was always had to the Business of the Succession, which made the *Scots* Court often blind to little Injuries.

To avoid all these Inconveniencies, and do the Business effectually, a Crime soon was found out †, which no Man could suppose to be comprehended in the Remission, and which, it was presumed, would make the *English* Queen shy to use her Interest openly in his Behalf.

Upon the penult Day of *December* the King called a Council in the Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, but they were hardly met, when Captain *James Stuart* entered the Room, and falling down upon his Knees, addressed the King to this Purpose :

“ The Sense of that Duty I owe to your Majesty, brings me to this Place, to disco-
“ ver

† This Representation, as if the King and Court had been contriving how to get *Morton* cut off, is quite groundless : The Family of *Ochiltree* have several Times warned their Sovereigns of Plots and Conspiracies, out of meer Duty and Affection, at the Peril of their Lives.

“ ver a Crime which has hitherto been conceal-
 “ ed by the Power and Interest of the Author.
 “ The Earl of *Morton* was one of these who
 “ conspired † the Death of your Majesty’s Fa-
 “ ther ; and how dangerous it is to suffer such
 “ a Man to be so near your Majesty’s Person,
 “ and one of your Council, the Noblemen here
 “ present can hardly determine. As for what
 “ I have said, let the Earl be but once secured,
 “ and brought to his Trial, I shall either make
 “ it good, or willingly undergo that Punishment
 “ the Law inflicts upon those who unjustly en-
 “ deavour to rob a Man of his Reputation, Life,
 “ and Fortune.”

The Earl with all imaginable Assurance, and
 a scornful Smile, instantly rose up, and in few
 Words told the King, “ That he knew not
 “ who had persuaded Captain *Stuart* to accuse
 “ him of a Crime of which he was wholly in-
 “ nocent, and had most severely punished in
 “ others ; but that either there, or before any
 “ other Judge, he was ready to answer, and
 “ doubted not but from his Innocence his Ma-
 “ jesty should be fully convinced of the Cap-
 “ tain’s Rashness, and the Malice of his Enc-
 “ mies.”

Stuart, all this while upon his Knees, replied,
 “ That he had not moved in this Affair upon
 “ the Score of private Malice or Pique, but out
 “ of a just Regard to his Majesty’s Honour and
 “ Safety, and a sincere Detestation of the Fact :
 “ But (added he) if the Earl of *Morton* has
 E e “ se-

† It appears by the Book of Privy Council, that he
 was accused of Art and Part.

“ severely punished others for this Murder, to
 “ prove his own Innocence, why did he prefer
 “ his Cousin, Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, to be a
 “ Senator of the College of Justice, who was
 “ known by all Men to be one of the Parri-
 “ cides?”

To this *Morton* was ready to answer, but the King ordered both him and the Captain to be removed. The Business required not Time for any Debate, for the Measures were concerted before-hand, and he (the Earl) was confined to one of the Chambers of the Palace, where he staid two Nights; the third, he was removed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and after some Days sent from thence to the Castle of *Dumbarton*, of which his Enemy the Earl of *Lenox* was Governor, and Sir *William Stuart* of *Traquair* Constable. Orders were at the same Time given out to apprehend his Cousin Mr. *Archibald*, who was then with his Wife at the Castle of *Morham*; but being warned of the approaching Danger, by *George Douglas* of *Lang-Niddrie*, he made his Escape into *England*. Thus ended the Year 1580*.

In *January* 1581, Sir *Thomas Randolph* came down Ambassador from the Queen of *England*, to interceed with the King for *Morton's* Liberty. He made his Majesty one Day a very long Speech, enumerating all the Earl's great Services to the Crown and his Country, *Lenox's* Proceedings, the Danger of being at Odds with *England*, and the Benefit would redound to the

Scots

* *Morton* was not transported to *Dumbarton* before the 28th *January*, 1581, as appears by the Act of Privy Council.

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Scots by breaking the antient League with France; and after he had wandered almost half an Hour from the Subject, he returned again, and in the Name of the Queen his Mistress, requested his Majesty to restore the Earl of Morton to his Freedom, being commanded to assure him, "She would look upon this as a singular Favour or Kindness done to her; and if it was denied, the Matter being just and reasonable, she could not but take it in ill Part."

The King heard him out very patiently, and without taking any Notice of his long Digressions about *Lenox* and *France*, replied very calmly, "That the many good Offices he had received from his Cousin the Queen of England, made him long for an Opportunity of repaying them, and he was sorry it did not offer now; but this Particular, his Father's Murder, touched him so very nigh, he knew she would excuse him: However he would take Care, because she interceded for him, to have his Trial carried on with all imaginable Caution; and as Liberty had been given to the Earl of Morton's Adversaries to accuse him, so the same, and greater, should be allowed him for his Defence."

A Parliament † being called much about this Time, *Randolph*, who found he could do nothing with the King, would endeavour to influence the Estates, and made the following Speech to the House with more Assurance than Honesty:

E e 2

"My

† It was a Convention only, wherein was granted a Taxation of 40000 *l.* for resisting of foreign Enemies, &c. 26. Feb. 1581.

“ My Lords, I am commanded by my Mistress,
 “ the Queen of *England*, to embrace this Op-
 “ portunity of informing you, that the Earl of
 “ *Lenox* has, ever since his coming to *Scotland*,
 “ amongst many other ill Offices to the King
 “ and Kingdom, particularly endeavoured to a-
 “ lienate his Majesty from a friendly Corre-
 “ spondence with *England*; he has turned all
 “ his Majesty’s most faithful Servants out of Em-
 “ ployment, taught him to despise his Clergy,
 “ and look upon the most zealous Ministers of
 “ the Word, as so many Sowers of Sedition,
 “ and Trumpeters of Rebellion, he has turned
 “ the Borderers loose, robbed Justice of her
 “ Sword, and underhand practised with foreign
 “ Princes, to invade the Kingdom of *England*.
 “ ——— Think not, my Lords, that I urge
 “ these Things upon slight Grounds; here are
 “ some of his Letters now in my Hand, which
 “ were happily intercepted, and may be peru-
 “ sed by your Lordships, if required. It is
 “ with no small Grief and Concern that her
 “ Majesty of *England* sees a young Prince, of
 “ such rare Hopes, her Relation, and one for
 “ whom she has hitherto taken so much Care,
 “ thus misled by his and her Enemies. But my
 “ Lords, if such a Person as *Lenox* ought to be
 “ suffered to abuse your King, and to rule the
 “ Nation at his Pleasure, your Lordships are
 “ best able to judge.”

This insolent Speech, which tended mani-
 festly to create a Misunderstanding betwixt the
 King and his People, and which *Randolph* durst
 not have uttered in any preceeding Reign, (but
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the slavish Dependence of the four Regents, to support their Rebellion, had taught the *English* to use a great deal of Freedom with us) was received by the Parliament as it ought to have been ; that is to say, they were so far from being influenced, that nothing but the empty Name of an Ambassador, and that Respect the *Scots* always have for Strangers, kept him from being sent to the Castle. And indeed it is almost a Wonder that he came so fairly off ; for the very Letters he produced were found upon the first Enquiry to be meer Forgeries.

These two Baulks from King and Parliament, instead of discouraging *Randolph*, taught him to redouble his Diligence. The *English* saw that if *Morton* sunk, they must no longer expect to have any considerable Hand in the Management of *Scots* Affairs ; nor would it be possible again, for some Years at least, to divide the *Scots* : Their Losses and Smart in their late Rebellion against their Queen, having taught them now to value Peace, and patiently endure the Yoke of one Tyrant, even if their King should prove such, rather than subject themselves to the tumultuous and arbitrary Sway of many. Some few of the Nobility yet pretended a Friendship for *Morton*, or indeed were rather afraid of suffering one Time or another under the Son, for those Crimes they had committed against the Mother, and therefore were ready to embrace this Opportunity of working another Change. Such were the Earls of *Argyle*, *Montrose*, *Angus*, *Mar*, and *Glencairn*, who gave out they aimed at nothing but *Morton's* Liberty, and *Lenox's* Banishment, as a notable Service both

to their King and Country. This Conspiracy however was soon found out ; but the King being naturally merciful, *Argyle*, *Montrose*, and *Glencairn* readily returned to their Duty, and thought fit to embrace certain Peace, rather than hazard their Lives and Fortunes by a doubtful War.

To these, when united, *Randolph* had promised mighty Matters, and assured them they should neither want Men nor Money from *England* ; and indeed Queen *Elizabeth* sent down at the same Time (to make good what he had promised) some of her Forces to the Borders, under the Command of the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*. These thought presently to have entered *Scotland*, but understanding that the best Part of the Conspirators had suddenly forsaken *Morton*, and the *English* Interest, and that they were to be seconded by *Mar* and *Angus* only, they lay still at *Berwick*, and dispersed up and down the County of *Northumberland*.

The King in the mean time, in case the *English* should come forward, doubled his Guards, increased the Number of his Troops and Garrisons, and commanded all his Subjects to be in a Readiness to attend the royal Standard upon six Hours Warning. All *Morton's* Friends, and those who stood up for him above Board, were now prosecuted with the utmost Severity. The Earl of *Angus* was confined beyond the River of *Spey* ; the Laird of *Lochlevin* be-north the Water of *Cromarty* ; the Laird of *Johnston* was turned out of his Office of Warden of the West Marches ; *Angus*, for not entring himself beyond
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the *Spey* within the Time prefixed, was denounced Traitor ; the Lairds of *Mains* and *Kirkmichael*, with *Morton's* base Sons, *James* and *Archibald*, were summoned to appear before the Council, and none of them obeying, they were proclaimed Rebels, and all his Majesty's Subjects discharged to conceal or assist them, under the Pain of Treason.

From these Proceedings *Randolph* guessed the Humour of the *Scots*, and saw that they were not at this Time to be hector'd with big Words, or approaching Armies ; fearing therefore to meet with rough Treatment for his Forgery, and underhand Practices with *Mar* and *Angus*, he stole away in the Night-time, and got undiscovered into *Berwick*. Sir *John Seaton*, the King's Master of Horse, was sent after him, to complain of his base Practices, and to know if Queen *Elizabeth* actually designed to come to a War with the *Scots*, and if not, to desire the Forces might be removed from the Borders ; but Sir *John* was stopped at *Berwick*, by an Order from the *English* Court, and not permitted to go any farther.

This mighty Bustle on the *English* Side, upon *Morton's* Account, not only insured, but hastened his Destruction, by rooting in every Man a firm Belief of his traiterous Correspondence, so often mentioned, and his Design of betraying his King and Country into Bondage. To remove, therefore, the Cause and the Danger at once, an Order is given to the Earl of *Montrose*, and Captain *James Stuart*, to bring him with a strong Guard from *Dumbarton* to *Edinburgh*, which

which was accordingly performed the 29th Day of *May*.

The same Night *Robert Earl of Orkney* was, by an Order from the King and Council, set at Liberty. This Earl owed his good Fortune to *Morton's* ill Luck ; for besides the seven thousand Pounds which the Reader may remember he gave to *Morton*, he had afterwards offered, for his Freedom, to marry his eldest Son upon any one of *Morton's* Relations, without a Portion.

The first Day of *June*, *Morton* was brought to his Trial, and charged with conspiring and concealing the Murder of the late King, and of being Art and Part, as we express it, in committing the same. He heard his Indictment read with that seeming Courage and Presence of Mind which was ever natural to him, and after a Smile or two, as if he had looked upon it to be no more than a mock Trial, or solemn Pageantry, pleaded *Not guilty* ; when the Jurors were called, he excepted against the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Seaton*, and the Laird of *Waughton*, but these having purged themselves by Oath, of all Malice and partial Counsel, &c. were admitted.

When the Jury was sworn, they retired from the Court, and staid but a very few Minutes. Upon their Return, the Earl of *Montrose*, their Foreman, or Chancellor of the Assize, declared him "Convicted of Counsel, concealing, and " of being Art and Part of King *Henry's* Murder." This, it is very probable, was more than *Morton* expected ; for, unable to conceal his Surprise, he beat the Ground twice or thrice with

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with his Cane, and cried with some Heat, " Art
" and Part ! Art and Part ! God knows it is
" not so." When Sentence was pronounced
against him, " That he should be taken the
" next Day to the Market-cross, hanged on a
" Gibbet, have his Head cut off, his Body
" quartered, &c." he uttered not one Word,
but assuming his former Calmness, smiled upon
those about him.

Mr. *Lawson*, and a Clergyman or two more,
were sent early next Morning, being the 2d of
June, to wait upon him †, from the King, and
to exhort him to disburden his Conscience, by a
plain Confession of his Guilt, to which he an-
swered,

" That upon his Return to *England*, whither
" he had been banished for the Murder of Se-
" cretary *Rizio*, *Bothwell* came to him * at
" *Whittingham*, and proposed the Murder of
" the King to him, alledging it was the Queen's
" own Desire to have him dispatched, as the
" principal Author of *Rizio's* Death, and desi-
" red his (*Morton's*) Assistance in the Affair ;
" to which he replied, that if he (*Bothwell*)
" would bring it under the Queen's own Hand,
" he might then probably engage in the Busi-
" ness ; but that tho' *Bothwell* often laboured
" to draw him in, and promised to bring the
" Queen's Hand-writing, yet he had never been
" able to procure any such Thing, and if he
" had,

† Not from the King, but of their own Accord, for no
good End.

* It is not said that *Bothwell* came to him : Therefore, as
this Abridgment is not quite correct, and as some lay great
Stress on that pretended Confession, we have thought fit to
subjoin it as complete as we have been able to find it.

“ had, he (*Morton*) was resolved even then
 “ not to have meddled in it. As to Mr. *Archibald Douglas* his Cousin, he said, he knew
 “ he was engaged in the Murder before it was
 “ committed, and that after it was done he told
 “ him, that he had accompanied *Bothwell* and
 “ *Huntly* to the Place, and assisted them in the
 “ Execution of the Fact.” After this he fell in-
 to some Heat, and complained of the King’s Se-
 verity, and the Partiality of the Judges ; upon
 which Mr. *Lawson* told him, “ That by his own
 “ Confession he merited Death, in foreknowing
 “ and concealing the Murder of his Prince.”
 “ Ay but Sir, cried he, had I been as innocent
 “ as *St. Stephen*, or as guilty as *Judas*, I must
 “ have come to the Scaffold. Pray what ought
 “ I have done in this Matter ? You knew not
 “ the King’s Weakness, Sir ; if I had informed
 “ him of the Plot against his Life, he would have
 “ revealed it even to his Enemies, and these
 “ concerned in the Design, and I would, it may
 “ be, have lost my own Life for endeavouring
 “ to preserve his to no Purpose.”

Upon this Confession, which amounted to
 more than was expected from him, his Sentence
 was changed from Hanging to Beheading, to en-
 courage him to a plainer Discovery. Many Ar-
 guments were used too to perswade him to tell
 where he had hid his Money, which had been
 carried off in Barrels by his Son *James*; and
 one *Macmorran*, but all to no Purpose. His
 Servants were at the same Time most severely
 dealt with for that Effect ; and tho’ some of
 them suffered the Extremities of Torture, yet

no Information could be got concerning this vast Treasure, which was sunk no Man knew where nor how. As for the Earl himself, he had so very little about him, that when he was brought out of the Prison to the Court, to undergo his Trial, he was forced to borrow twenty Shillings to throw to the Poor. It was thought that he concealed his Money in Hopes that the Court would offer him his Life, as the last Argument to persuade him to a Discovery ; but that was a Reward which was by no Means thought safe to grant.

About Two o'Clock in the Afternoon he was brought under a strong Guard, commanded by Captain *Stuart*, to the Place of Execution. As soon as he had mounted the Scaffold, the Captain desired he might be reconciled to him, and solemnly protested he had done nothing against his Lordship out of Malice, or any private Pique. " Sir, said he, this is not a fit Place to reckon Quarrels in, I forgive you and all Men." Here he repeated to the People the Sum of what he had confessed to Mr. *Lawson*, and desired their Prayers in his Behalf. As to the Business of the Correspondence he owned, " That he designed to have sent the King into *England* ; but it was only to secure the Succession to that Crown, by being bred up amongst them." He spent about half an Hour in praying by himself ; and then laying down his Head upon the Block, and often crying with a low Voice, " Lord Jesus, receive my Soul," the Maiden struck off his Head. His Body lay from Four o'Clock till almost Eight at Night, upon the Scaffold, covered with an old blue Cloak, not one Man appearing

ing upon the Place to shew his Gratitude for some good Office past, or to express the least Sign of Mourning for his Misfortune. When it was about dark, the Body was carried off to the Grave by common Porters, and such as attend the Corps of the meanest Malefactors after Execution ; and his Head next Day, betwixt the Hours of Eleven and Twelve in the Forenoon, was fixed upon the most eminent Part of the Tolbooth.

Thus fell *James Earl of Morton*, the last of the four Regents. He was of a low Stature, handsome, and superlatively cunning ; one who by Rebellion and innumerable Sins, had attained to an incredible Height of Power, and in a capricious Humour of Greatness, frolick'd with Mischief till it became habitual, and Murder and Oppression appeared but so many empty Words. But studying to maintain his Authority by those violent Means and barbarous Methods only by which he had acquired it, he became at last a Burden to his Country, and fell unpitied : In one Thing nevertheless happy, that he died truly penitent, and with that Courage and Resignation which becomes a great Man and a good Christian.

F I N I S.

A P P E N D I X.

The Sum of all the CONFERENCE that was betwixt the Earl of *Morton*, *John Dury*, and Mr. *Walter Balcanquhal*, and the chief Things they heard of him, as they can remember, the Day that the said Earl suffered, which was the 2d of *June*, 1581.

FIRST, being exhorted that he should not be discouraged in Consideration of that Estate whereunto once he had been called in this World, being in Honour and Glory, and of the Fall and Downcast whereunto now he was brought, but rather that in Consideration of the Glory to come, he should rejoice, and be of good Comfort.

His Answer was, As concerning all the Glory I have had in this World, I care not for it, because I am persuaded now, that all the Honours, Riches, Friends, Pleasures, and whatsoever I had in the World, is but Vanity, and the broken Reed of *Egypt*: And as concerning the State whereunto I am now brought, I thank God for it, and am at this Point, that I am content rather to render my Life than to live; because I know that as God hath appointed

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the Time for my Death, so hath he also appointed the Manner thereof: And therefore, seeing that now is the Time, and this is the Manner that best pleaseth my God to take me in, I am content: And as for my Life in this World, I care not for it a Penny, in respect of that Immortality and everlasting Joy which I look for, and whereof I am assured.

2dly, Being required what was his Part or Knowledge in the King's Death or Murder, he answered, with this Attestation, As I shall answer to my Lord God, I shall declare truly all my Knowledge in that Matter, the Sum whereof is this: First, After my returning out of *England*, where I was banished for *Davie's Slaughter*, I came out of *Wedderburn* to *Whittingham*, where the Earl of *Bothwell* and I met together; and in the Yard of *Whittingham*, after long Communing, the Earl *Bothwell* proponed to me the Purpose of the King's Murder, requiring what would be my Part therein, seeing it was the Queen's Mind that the King should be taken away, because (as he said) she blamed the King more of *Davie's Slaughter* than me. My Answer to the Earl of *Bothwell* at that Time was this, That I would not in any ways meddle in that Matter, and that for this Cause, because I am but newly come out of a great Trouble, whereof as yet I am not rid, being discharged to come near the Court by seven Miles, and therefore I cannot enter myself into such a new Trouble again. After this Answer, Mr. *Archibald Douglas* entered in Conference with me of that Purpose, persuading me to agree to the Earl *Bothwell's* Desire. Last of all, the Earl

of

of *Bothwell*, yet being in *Whittingham*, earnestly proponed the same Matter again to me, persuading me thereunto, because so was the Queen's Mind, and she would have it to be done. Unto this my Answer was, That I desired the Earl *Bothwell* to bring the Queen's Hand-writing to me of that Matter for a Warrant, and then I should give him an Answer, otherways I would not meddle therewith; the which Warrant he never brought, or could procure.

Then being enquired, what would have been his Part in case he had gotten the Queen's Warrant in that Matter: Would he, in respect of the same, have meddled with such a filthy Murder as that? He answered, If I had got the Queen's Writing, and so had known her Mind, I was purposed to have banished myself again, and turned my Back on *Scotland* till I had seen further. Then following forth the Discourse of this Matter, he said, I being in *St. Andrews*, to visit the Earl of *Angus*, a little before the Murder, Mr. *Archibald Douglas* came to me there, both with Writing and Credit from the Earl *Bothwell*, to shew unto me, that that Purpose concerning the King's Murder was to be done, and near at a Point, and to require my Concurrence and Assistance therein: My Answer was to him, that I would give no Answer to that Purpose, seeing I had not got the Queen's Warrant in Writing, which was promised to me; and therefore seeing the Earl *Bothwell* never brought any Warrant from the Queen, I meddled never further in that Matter.

Then being enquired, whether he gave Mr. *Archibald Douglas* any Command to be there in

his Name, he answered, I never commanded him. Being enquired whether he gave any Counsel thereto, he answered, I never counselled him thereunto. Being enquired if he counselled him to the contrary, he answered, Indeed I counselled him not to the contrary. Then it was said unto him, That it was a dangerous Thing for him that his Servant and Depender was to pass to such a wicked Purpose, and, knowing thereof, stayed him not, seeing it would be accounted his Deed; he answered, Mr. *Archibald* at that Time was a Depender upon the Earl *Bothwell*, making Court for himself, rather than a Depender of mine. After this, following forth the said Discourse, he said, That Mr. *Archibald*, after the Deed was done, shewed to me that he was at the Deed-doing, and came to the *Kirk-of-field* Yard with the Earls *Bothwell* and *Huntly*. Then being enquired if he received into his Company Mr. *Archibald* after the Murder, he answered, I did indeed.

Then it was said to him, *Appearandlie*, my Lord, you cannot justly complain of the Sentence that is given against you, seeing with your own Mouth you confess the Fore-knowledge and concealing of the King's Murder, of which two Points only you could not be able to abide the Law; he answered, I know that to be true indeed, but yet they should have considered the Danger that the revealing of it would have brought to me at that Time, for I durst not reveal it for Fear of my Life; for at that Time to whom should I have revealed it? To the Queen? She was the Doer thereof. I was minded to re-

veal

veal it to the King's Father, but yet I durst not for my Life ; for I knew him to be such a Child, that there was nothing that was told him but he would reveal it to her again ; and therefore I durst in no ways reveal it. And howbeit they have condemned me of Art and Part, Fore-knowledge and concealing of the King's Murder ; yet, as I shall answer to God, I never had Art or Part, Red or Counsel, in that Matter. I fore-knew it indeed, and concealed it, because I durst not reveal it to any Creature for my Life. Being enquired, why he would not since that Time reveal it to the King's Majesty, he answered, he durst not, for the same Fear. Then he said, After the Earl *Bothwell* was quite and cleanged by an Affize, sundry of the Nobility, and I also, subscribed a Bond with the Earl *Bothwell*, that if any should lay the King's Murder to his Charge, we should assist him to the contrary ; and therefore I subscribed to the Queen's Marriage with the Earl *Bothwell*, as sundry others of the Nobility did, being charged thereunto by the Queen's Writing and Commandment. Then being required in the Name of the Living God, that seeing this Murder of the King was one of the most filthy Acts that ever was done in *Scotland*, and that the Secrets thereof have not been as yet declared, neither yet who were the chief Deed-doers, or whether he was strangled, or blown up into the Air, and therefore to declare if he knew any further Secret therein ; he answered, As I shall answer to God, I know no more Secrets in that Matter than I have already told, and heard by the Depositions of such as have already suffered for it, which Depositions

are as yet extant. Being enquired if he knew any presently to be about the King who were Doers of that Work, by whose Company the King and Commonwealth might be hurt; he answered, I know none, and I will accuse none. Last of all, it was said to him, concerning this Purpose, that in respect of his own Deposition, his Part would be suspected to be more foul than he declared; he answered, For what Reason? It was answered, because you being in Authority; howbeit you punished others for that Murder, you did not punish Mr. *Archibald*, whom you knew to be guilty thereof; he answered, I punished him not indeed, neither durst I, for the Causes before shewed.

3dly, Being enquired of the Earl of *Athole's* poisoning, and if he had any Art or Part thereof, he answered with a great Attestation, saying, Let God never be merciful unto me, if ever I knew any thing of that Matter, or heard of it, before I heard the common Brute of the Country. And being enquired, if he knew that Mr. *John Provand* brought Home any Poison; he answered, I knew no such Thing, I knew nothing of Mr. *John Provand* but Honesty; and said, Fy! there is over much Filthiness in *Scotland* already; God forbid that that vile Practice of poisoning should enter among us; I would not for all the Earldom of *Athole* have either ministred Poison to him, or caused it to have been ministred to him; yea if I had been an hundred of a Party, and he alone, I would not have stirred an Hair of his Head.

4thly, Being enquired if he made any Conspiracy against the Earl of *Lenax*, he answered, with

with the like Attestation as before, I never thought in my Heart, or purposed any Conspiracy against the Earl of *Lenox*, nor minded ever to do him Hurt, in Body or otherways, but I was grieved indeed that he knew not the State of our Country, nor yet perceived the Danger of the King's Person, but, being thereunto requested by others, sundry were brought Home who were the King's Enemies, and verthrowers of his Kingdom, and Enemies of Religion, which was an apparent Danger to his Person and Realm, which I hoped to have helped by Counsel, when the Earl of *Lenox*'s Familiarity and mine should have been great.

5thly, Being enquired, whether he had any Traffique or Dealing with *England*, for the conveying of the King, or otherways if he had any Pension of the Queen of *England* for that Purpose; he answered, As I shall answer to God, under Pain of Condemnation, or Salvation, I never had any Dealing with *England* that Way; there was never any in *Scotland* nor *England* neither, the Queen, nor any in her Name, that ever moved any such Thing to me, directly or indirectly. As to transport the King into *England*, it never entred into my Heart; I would not for all the Realm of *England* have put him into *England*, except it had been for his Profit and Honour that he had been crowned King of *England*; then I would have ridden with him, to have debated his Right according to my Power. And for the more clear Purgation of myself in this Matter, I will say, If ever I meant, directly or indirectly, Hurt to the King my Master, but meant always his Weill, let
God

God never be merciful to me, and I shall never ask God Mercy for any Thought that ever entered in my Heart against the King ; yea there was nothing that I regarded more in this Life, than that he should be brought up in Virtue and Godliness ; and I will say more, If I had been as careful to serve my God, and walk in his Fear, as I was to see the King's Weill, I had not been brought to this Point that I am in at this Day. And where they alledge that I was the Queen of *England's* Pensioner, As I shall answer to God, I never had Pension of the Queen of *England* in all my Life. And howbeit they cause the Brute to go, that I should have furnished the Queen of *England's* Soldiers, now last upon the Borders, I never knew of it, nor heard of it. And last of all, where they alledge that I should have been a great Trafficker with *England*, I praise God, I never had Traffick with them but for the Weal of the King, his Country and Subjects. Indeed, a Year since, the Queen of *England* wrote to me a Letter, the Sum whereof was this, That she was informed that sundry Papists, and Enemies to the King, were familiar with him, and come into Credit, which could not be without his Hurt, Hurt to Religion, and State of both the Realms, and therefore desired my Counsel in that Matter, and that I should give her some Plot how it might be remedied. Unto this I sent her an Answer, the Sum whereof was this : I besought her Majesty that she should not burden me with such a Thing, for I would in no ways meddle in that Matter ; she would not be content that any of her Subjects should meddle with any foreign Prin-

Prince for the Reformation of her Affairs. After this Answer, I received a Letter from Mr. *Bowes*, howbeit not subscribed with the Queen of *England's* Hand, yet I understood that it was sent by her Means, and indited by her Secretary *Walsingham*, wherein was declared, that by this Purpose there was nothing meant either to my Hurt, or to the Hurt of the King or Realm, but for the Weal of the King, both the Realms, and Subjects thereof, and especially of the Religion. But I wrote no Answer again, nor would meddle further in that Matter.

6thly, Being demanded, what was his Part of the Enterprize of the Castle of *Stirling*, he answered, As I shall answer to God, I knew nothing of it till it was done ; but being in *Lochlevin*, I received Advertisement out of the Castle of *Stirling*, and a Writing from the King, that I should come thither. And whereas they say that I minded to keep the King captive there, I never minded to keep him there in Captivity, or in any other Place, but I understood by the King's own speaking, that he was as free at that Time as ever he was before, or desired to be for the present ; and if I had understood that his Grace would have gone to any other Place, where greater Liberty had been, I would have gone with him gladly.

7thly, It being laid to his Charge that he was a great Hinderer of the Matters of the Kirk, and Authorizer of the Bishops, and other Corruptions, when he might have done much Good, for the Furtherance of God's Glory, and Advancement of his Evangel, both in the Time of his Government and since : His Answer was,
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As concerning the Religion and Doctrine, as now it is preached and professed in *Scotland*, I meant always well in my Heart to it, and acknowledged it to be the very Truth of God, inso-much that rather than any Hurt had come to the Religion, I would have been contented to have spent my Life, Lands, and Goods in the Defence of it, like as now I am content to die in the constant Profession thereof. But indeed, as concerning some Things in the Policy of the Kirk, as the Estate of Bishops, and such like, which then were in question betwixt me and the Kirk, I did therein according to my Knowledge, and followed the Opinion that I thought to be best at that Time, in Consideration of the State of all Things as they were: And therefore, howbeit I will not stand in Defence of the Things which then I did, yet I will make this Protestation, That, as I shall answer to God, I did nothing in these Matters, either of Contempt, Malice or Envy; but if there was any thing done amiss, it was of Ignorance, and for Lack of better Knowledge, and if I had known better, I would have done otherways, and was now purposed at last to have holpen them so far as I might.

8thly, Being desired in the Name of God, not to stand in the Defence of his own Innocence, but plainly to confess his Sins, to God's Glory, and to think, that howsoever it be that Man hath done in this Matter, yet God had always done justly, and that he was to suffer nothing but that whereof, before God, he was worthy, and more: His Answer was, However it be that Men have done, I commit them to God, and their

their own Conscience, but I acknowledge indeed that God hath always done justly to me, and not only justly, but mercifully also, because of all Sinners I acknowledge myself to have been one of the greatest, a filthy Abuser of my Body in the Pleasures of the Flesh, given over much to the World, and Pleasures thereof, and such other Sins as God might justly lay to my Charge, and that I expressed not the Fruits of my Profession in my Life and Conversation, as I ought to have done, and therefore I beseech the Lord to be merciful unto me : And indeed now I acknowledge the great Mercy of God in this, that amongst all the Benefits he had bestowed upon me, this is one of the chiefest, that in this my last Trouble he hath given me Space and Leisure to repent me of my Sins, and to be at a Point with my God ; in which Trouble also I have found greater Comfort than ever I could find before, because I had thereby concluded this with myself, that if God should have spared my Life, and delivered me out of this Trouble, that then I should have casten away all the Care of the World, the Pleasure of the Flesh, and the Delight of all earthly Things, and dedicate myself hereafter to serve my God in all Kind of Quietness and Simplicity ; and if it should please God to take me in this Trouble, I had concluded also to be contented therewith, being always assured of the Mercies of God ; and therefore now I thank God, that I find me now at this Point, that I am rather content to die than to live ; and that I shall not see the Miseries to come ; for I assure you, that I think this to be the most acceptable Time that
ever

ever God could have taken me in, for I perceive and foresee such Misery and Confusions to ensue, that I thank God I shall not see them. And you who do fear God, and live behind me, when as you shall see these Things, you shall wish to God to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

9thly, Being demanded, what he thought of the Form of Judgment used against him, and what was his Opinion thereof? whether he thought any Wrong was done to him, or not? and exhorting him not to blame any without a Cause: He answered, I would be loth to find Fault, or blame the Noblemen that have taken upon their Consciences to condemn me, but I will remit them to God, and their own Consciences; yet I am now to speak somewhat freely in this Matter, and it is this: I saw such partial Dealing against me, that it had been all alike to me if I had been as innocent as *St. Stephen*, or as guilty as *Judas*, for I perceived plainly there was nothing sought for but my Life, however it had been; which appeared in this, that no Exception against any Person that was to pass upon my Affize could avail; for I required the Earl of *Argyle* to purge himself of partial Counsel given to the Pursuer, my Accuser; he purged himself indeed, but I knew the contrary, that he gave partial Counsel to him: Likewise, the Laird of *Waughton*, the Lord *Seton*, and such others, who were known to be my Enemies, notwithstanding lawful Exceptions were put upon my Inquest. In Consideration whereof, I cannot but be persuaded of a Thing which it behoveth me to communicate unto you,
and

and it is this : I perceive it is not my Life only that they seek, but they who are Authors of my Death have some other Purpose on Hand, which they perceived could not well be done except I, and such others as do favour the good Cause, were taken out of the Way ; and therefore I cannot but suspect that I have been so handled, and such as I hereafter may be put at, that they may have a more patent Way to do their Turn. And I pray God, that ye who are to live behind me, see not the Practice thereof, but I fear it fore ; and therefore, in respect of this apparent Danger of the common Cause, I will give this Counsel to the King, my Master, and wish you, in the Name of God, to bear it to him, the Sum whereof is this :

I perceive that they who have been the King's Unfriends, and Enemies to his Crown and Commonwealth, are brought in Credit, and in Court ; and they who have been Maintainers of his Crown, and good Friends, discredited and mislik'd of ; and likeways, such as are known to be Papists, and suspected to be Enemies to the Religion, are become familiar, and in over great Credit with his Majesty, which appearandly cannot be without great Danger to the Religion, and Hurt to his Estate ; and therefore I admonish him in the Name of God, to beware of them, and put Remeid thereunto in Time ; and as he hath been brought up in the Fear of God, and Company of good Men, to continue therein, and not to go back, or else he hath done with it for ever. Now I must tell you what moves me to speak this. The Estate of the Religion in this Country appeared never to be in such Danger, and

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that

that for this Cause : I hear say, that there is a Dealing, and present Trafficking between *France* and *England*, and *Monsieur's* Marriage with the Queen is heavily to be feared : If *France* and *England* band together, and that Marriage go forward, you may easily understand that the one of them will travel to persuade the other to their Religion ; *Monsieur* dare not change his Religion, if he ettle to the Crown of *France*, and therefore you may be assured he will travel to persuade the Queen to his Religion, and to bring Papiſtrie into *England*, which is over easy to be done, the two Parts of *England* being Papiſts : If *England* and *France* band together, and be both Papiſts, we are left alone, who have no League with *England*, and therefore I know what we will do, viz. we will cleave to *France*, to their old League, and to band with them as formerly, and *France* and *England* being one, judge ye, in what Case shall the Religion be with us ? God give the King and his Nobility Wiſdom to foreſee that Danger in Time.

rothly, Being required to give his good Counſel to the Earl of *Angus*, and to ſhew him what was meeteſt to be done, ſeeing preſently he was in great Trouble, he answered, Truly I dare give him no Counſel, the Lord help him, I dare give him no Counſel, and I will tell you why : To bid him come in preſently, I dare not ; all Men may ſee in what Danger he is now, as Things go, if he come in ; and to counſel him to abide forth, I dare not ; for then he ſhall loſe the King's Favour for ever ; he ſhall loſe himſelf, his Friends, his Heritage, and all ; and therefore the beſt Counſel I can give him in this

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Matter is, that he make all Moyens possible to purchase the King my Master's Favour again, and to see if he may have any Assurance of his Life, and that he may serve his God and the King truly, and submit himself, and all that he hath, to his Majesty's Good-will ; for, poor Man ! he hath done nothing yet but it may be soon amended. I say no more, but the Lord give him his Spirit, to follow that which is best.

11thly, Being required to declare what was the Sum of that Admonition that *John Knox* gave him before he accepted the Regiment, when he came to him a little before his Departure ; he answered, I shall tell you so far as I can remember : First of all, he asked me, if I knew any thing of the King's Murder ; I answered, Indeed I knew nothing of it : Then he said to me, Well, God hath beautified you with many Benefits, which he hath not given to every Man as he hath given to you, Riches, Wisdom, and Friends, and now is to prefer you to the Government of this Realm ; and therefore, in the Name of God, I charge you to use these Benefits aright, and better in Time to come than you have done in Time past ; first, to God's Glory, to the Furtherance of the Evangel, to the Maintenance of the Church of God, and of his Ministry ; next, for the Weal of the King, his Realm, and true Subjects : If so you shall do, God will bless you, and honour you ; but if you do it not, God shall spoil you of these Benefits, and your End shall be Ignominy and Shame. Then being enquired if he said true or not, he answered, I have found it true in-

deed, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be merciful unto me.

12thly, Then being enquired, for what Cause he held some of the Neighbours of *Edinburgh* in Ward, he answered, Surely I meant no Evil to these Men, but it was done upon this Respect: We had the Matter of the Bullion then in Hand; I was informed that they were Hinderers thereof, and therefore I thought it best at that Time to put them in Ward for a while, till the Turn had been done; and if I did them any Wrong, I crave them Forgiveness, as I forgive all Men.

13thly, Being enquired if he knew that he would be accused of this Matter before; he answered, I was advertised of it, and indeed might have escaped it, but I would not, trusting always upon my Innocence, and did not suppose they would have condemned me upon such a Thing.

Then after this he and we called to God together by earnest Prayer, during which Prayer he shewed most evident Tokens of the inward Working of the Spirit of God. The Prayer being ended, he said to us, I thank you heartily for your Comfort which you have offered to me, for now indeed is greatest Need of Comfort, and therefore as you have begun, I beseech you to continue with me; and now, after I am come to the Knowledge of mine own Sins, there rest only two Things that I will crave of you; that is, first, that you will shew unto me all Kinds of Arguments, whereby I may be comforted to hold me sure upon the Mercies of God; and next I may be comforted against the natural Fear of Death, because Flesh is fearful and

weak:

weak : The which good Desire we travelled to satisfy by long Conference, which were too long to rehearse in every Point ; yet the Sum of it was this : It was said to him, there were three Things chiefly which might make him assured of the Mercy of God in Christ ; first, The innumerable and comfortable Promises of God's Mercies contained in his Word, whereupon it behoved him always to lean, whereof there were sundry recited to him ; 2dly, The Examples of God's Mercies practised towards his own Servants, howbeit they had been great Sinners, as appeared in *David, Magdalen, Peter, the Thief, &c.* 3dly, The often Experience of God's Mercy, which from Time to Time he had found in his own Person, ought to assure him now also of his Mercy in the End. To this he answered, saying, I know that to be true ; for since I past to *Dumbarton*, I have read all the five Books of *Moses, Joshua, Judges*, and now I am in *Samuel*, and will tell you what I found there ; I see that the Mercies of God are wonderful, and always inclined to have Pity upon his own People ; for there it appeareth, that howbeit he punished the People of *Israel* when they sinned, yet how soon they turned to him again, he was merciful to them ; when they sinned again, he punished them, and as oft as they repented, he was merciful again : And therefore I am assured, howbeit I have often offended against my God, yet he will be merciful unto me also. Further in this Point it was said to him, that in case *Satan* should travel to discourage him, in Consideration of the Justice of God on the one Part, and of his Sins on the

other Part, we exhorted him on the contrary, to be of good Courage, and even in respect of the Justice of God, to be assured, that his Sins should not be laid to his Charge, and that even because God was just ; for the Justice of God will not suffer him to take twice Payment for one Thing ; as we know, in the common Dealing of Men, he that is a just Man will not crave twice Payment of that whereof he is already satisfied ; and therefore since that Christ hath already satisfied for our Sins, and paid God the uttermost Farthing he could crave of us, he cannot lay our Sins to our Charge, being satisfied in Christ ; because his Justice will not suffer him to take twice Payment for one Thing. Unto this he answered, Truly that is very good.

As concerning the natural Fear of Death, we exhorted him always to be occupied upon the Consideration of the Glory, the Joy and Felicity of the Life to come, and that should be the only Way to swallow up the Fear of this natural Death. He answered, I praise God I do so.

All this being done, having in his Hand a pretty Treatise of the Meditation of Death, written by Mr. *Bradford*, which he said he had got from the Lady *Ormiston* before he went into Ward, and therefore, before his passing forth, gave it to Mr. *James Lawson*, desiring him to deliver it to the said Lady again : Having this Book in his Hand, he willed Mr. *Walter* to read him a Piece thereof ; which he did ; in reading whereof, with sundry Conferences upon the Thing that was read, both he and we found great Comfort, insomuch that he said, I praise God, I hear now with other Ears than I did before.

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With this being called to Disjune, he desired us earnestly to take Part with him, as we did. He eat his Disjune with great Chearfulness, as all the Company saw, and as appeared in his speaking. Now, saith he, I see there is a great Difference between a Man that is occupied with the Cares of the World, and him that is free from them, and this I have found in the two Nights going before ; for in the Night before my Accusation, I could get no Rest for Care, because I knew I was to be accused To-morrow, and therefore, being sollicitous to answer to every Point that should be laid to my Charge, I could not sleep ; but this Night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a Point with myself, and had no Thought of the World, nor Care of this Life, but cast mine only Care upon God, and, I praise God, I never slept better in my Life-time than I did this Night, and said to *William Stewart, William*, you can bear me Record of this, who answered, It is true, my Lord. Then Mr. *Walter* said to him, My Lord, I will drink to you upon a Condition ; he answered, What Condition ? Upon this Condition, my Lord, that you and I shall drink together in the Kingdom of Heaven, of that immortal Drink which shall never suffer us to thirst again ; he answered, Truly I pledge you, Mr. *Walter*, on the same Condition. And after he had received the Cup, he said to *John Dury*, Now, *John*, I will drink to you upon the same Condition ; who answered, I pledge you, my Lord, and am assured it shall be so. The Disjune being ended, and Thanks being given to God, he passed to his Chamber again,

at

at what Time Mr. *James Lawson* came to him, with whom he conferred the Substance of all these Things again, after that we were departed from him.

Then at Afternoon we came to him again, with sundry of the Brethren of the Ministry, as Mr. *James Lawson*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, *David Ferguson*, Mr. *David Lindsay*, *John Brand*, Mr. *James Carmichael*, and Mr. *John Davidson*, whom he received very lovingly in his Arms, and said to him, Mr. *John*, you wrote a little Book indeed, but truly I never meant Evil towards you in my Heart ; forgive you me, and I forgive you ; at the which speaking the said Mr. *John* was moved with Tears. All these Brethren being present, to their great Comfort he repeated again the Substance of all Things he spoke before, being demanded thereof, Point by Point, as their Testification of this Matter, subscribed by them, at more Length will declare. And thereafter he was called to his Dinner, about Two in the Afternoon ; but being at Dinner, seeing the Brethren of the Ministry were informed that there was wrong Report made of his Confession to the King, and that he should have confessed much otherways than he did, whereby the King might have had a worse Opinion of him, they thought good to send down some before his Suffering, to inform his Majesty of the Truth of his Confession, as namely, *David Ferguson*, *John Dury*, and *John Brand*, who, before his Death, at Length, told the whole simple Truth of his Confession, as it was, to the King's Majesty. At their returning again from the Abbay, his Keeper required him that
he

he should come forth to the Scaffold. He answered, Seeing they have troubled me over much this Day with worldly Things, I supposed they should have given me this one Night's Leisure, to have advised ripely with my God. His Keeper said, All Things are ready now, my Lord, and I think they will not stay. He answered, I am ready also, I praise my God ; and so a comfortable Prayer being made, he passed down to the Gate, minding to go directly to the Scaffold ; but the Earl of *Arran* staid him, and brought him back again to the Chamber, and required him that he should tarry till his Confession should be put in Writing, and be subscribed with his own Hand, and the Ministers that were present : He answered, Nay, my Lord, I pray you trouble me no more with these Things, for now I have another Thing to muse upon, that is, to prepare me for my God ; seeing I am now at a Point to go to my Death, I cannot write in the State wherein now I am ; all these honest Men can testify what I have spoken in that Matter : With which Answer the Earl of *Arran* being satisfied, he said to him, Now, my Lord, you will be reconciled with me, for I have done nothing upon any particular Quarrel against you ; he answered, It is no Time now to remember upon Quarrels ; I have no Quarrel with you, nor any other ; I forgive you and all others, as I will all to forgive me ; and so thereafter, with a good Courage, he passed to the Scaffold. Being upon the Scaffold, he repeated in few Words the Substance of those Things which before he confessed, except that he concealed Mr. *Archibald Douglas's* Name, and eik-
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ed some Words upon the Scaffold, and Exhortations to the People, which he spoke not before ; as namely, he said, Sure I am, the King shall lose a good Servant this Day ; and so he exhorted the People, saying, I testify before God, that as I professed the Evangel which this Day is taught and professed in *Scotland*, so also now willingly I lay down my Life in the Profession thereof ; and howbeit I have not walked according thereunto as I ought, yet I am assured God will be merciful unto me, and I pray you all, good Christians, pray for me ; and I charge you all, in the Name of God, that are Professors of the Evangel, that ye continue in the true Profession thereof, and maintain it to your Power, as I should have done, God-willing, with my Life, Lands, and all, if I had more Days, which if you do, I assure you God shall be merciful to you ; but if you do not, be you sure the Vengeance of God shall light upon you both in Body and Soul.

As concerning all the rest of the Things which he spake comfortable on the Scaffold, he spake them in Effect, and more amply, before, and therefore we think it not needful to repeat them again. Therefore, all his Speeches being ended upon the Scaffold, a comfortable Prayer was made by Mr. *James Lawson* ; during the Time of which Prayer, the Earl *Morton* lay grovelling upon his Face before the Place of Execution, his Body making great Rebounding with Sighs and Sobs, which were evident Signs of the inward and mighty Working of the good Spirit of God, as all they who were present, and

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knew what it was to be earnestly moved in Prayer, might easily perceive.

The Prayer being ended, and after that sundry came to him to be reconciled with him before his Death, whom most lovingly he did receive; and after he had taken us all by the Hands that were about him, and bidden us farewell in the Lord, he passed both constantly, patiently, and humbly, without Fear of Death, to the Place of Execution, and laid his Neck under the Ax, his Hands being unbound, and there Mr. *Walter* putting him always in Mind, and crying in his Ear these Words following, he cried continually, till his Head was stricken off, "Lord Jesus, receive my Soul. Into thy Hands, Lord, I commit my Spirit. Lord Jesus, receive my Soul;" which Words he was speaking even while the Ax fell on his Neck; and so whatsoever he had been before, he died constantly the true Servant of God. And however it be that his Unfriends alledge, that as he lived proudly, so he died proudly; the charitable Servants of God could perceive nothing in him but all Kind of Humility in his Death, inso much that we are assured that his Soul is received into the Joys and Glory of the Heavens. And we pray God that they who are behind may learn by his Example to die in the true Fear of the Lord. *Amen.*

That I might give this Conference as compleat as possible, I compared two MS. Copies of it found in *Scotland*, with one taken from the *Cottonian Library*, *Cal. C. 6.* Yet after all, there is some Rea-

Reason to suspect that it is defective ; for *Raphael Hollinshed's* Continuator, having taken in Hand to give it in his History of *Scotland*, p. 429. breaks off in the very second Paragraph, after *Morton*, upon the first Proposal made to him by *Bothwell* about the King's Murder, is made to say, " that he would not meddle in " that Matter ;" and, instead of what he had before him, gives us these Words : " After " which, (*Morton*) opening a large Discourse, " laying the Cause, the Contriving, and the " Execution of the same in great Persons now " living." He recites none of these Things, but proceeds to *Morton's* denying that he had either Part or Knowledge in that Matter. In my Copies there is no Mention of the Contrivance, nor of any Person then living, that is said to have been either Contriver or Actor in that Tragedy, who is not also named in *Hollinshed*, excepting *Archibald Douglas* only.

Then at the End of this Conference, in the uncastrated Copies of *Hollinshed*, he gives this Account of it :

" Thus far the Confession and Death of the
 " Earl *Morton*, penned by such of the Presby-
 " tery as were present thereat, and favoured
 " him in all Respects, seeking to clear him of
 " any Evil imposed against him. In setting
 " down whereof, I have not varied from the
 " very Words of my Copy, in Manner of pen-
 " ning it, but only in some few Places of some
 " Part of the Matter, the which I have pur-
 " posely omitted, because it contained the Af-
 " fairs of State, and the Accusation of divers
 " Persons now living ; both which are neither
 " need.

“ needful to be known to the common People,
 “ nor meet to be opened to others, thereby to
 “ bring those in question upon a Report, where-
 “ of there is no further Hold to be had, than
 “ there was Love or Hate between the Accuser
 “ and the Accused. Wherefore leaving the
 “ same Discourse of the Death of the Earl,
 “ (which fell upon the second Day of *June*, in
 “ the Town of *Edinburgh*,) in that sort, pen-
 “ ned by those of the Presbytery, to stand upon
 “ the Support of itself, I will descend to other
 “ Matters, &c.”

From which these four Things are evident :

1. That *Hollinshed's* Continuator, even in his uncastrated Edition, did not give a compleat Copy of this Conference.

2. That it is not properly *Morton's* Confession, but the Confession of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* in his Name, which is likewise evident from the Discourse itself.

3. That in the Opinion of *Hollinshed's* Continuator, it is not a true Account of what *Morton* really confessed, but made by the Presbytery, of Purpose to screen his Guilt, and to clear him of all the Crimes wherewith he was charged : Which also seems plain from the Paper itself ; for he is made to deny every Thing but only the simple Foreknowledge of a Thing that he durst not reveal for his Life. A very hard Case ! Whether he revealed or concealed the Matter, he must lose his Life ! He could have suffered no more, had he done the Deed himself. The Presbytery's Care that he should not be thought to have confessed too much, appears particularly in the 20th Page.

4. And as a Consequence of the rest, it appears that they who lay any Stress on what is narrated in this Paper, do lean to a broken Reed.

This Ingenuity in *Holinshed's* Continuator brought the Indignation of the *English* Court upon the Leaf of his Book in which it was contained ; so it underwent Castration, among others.



